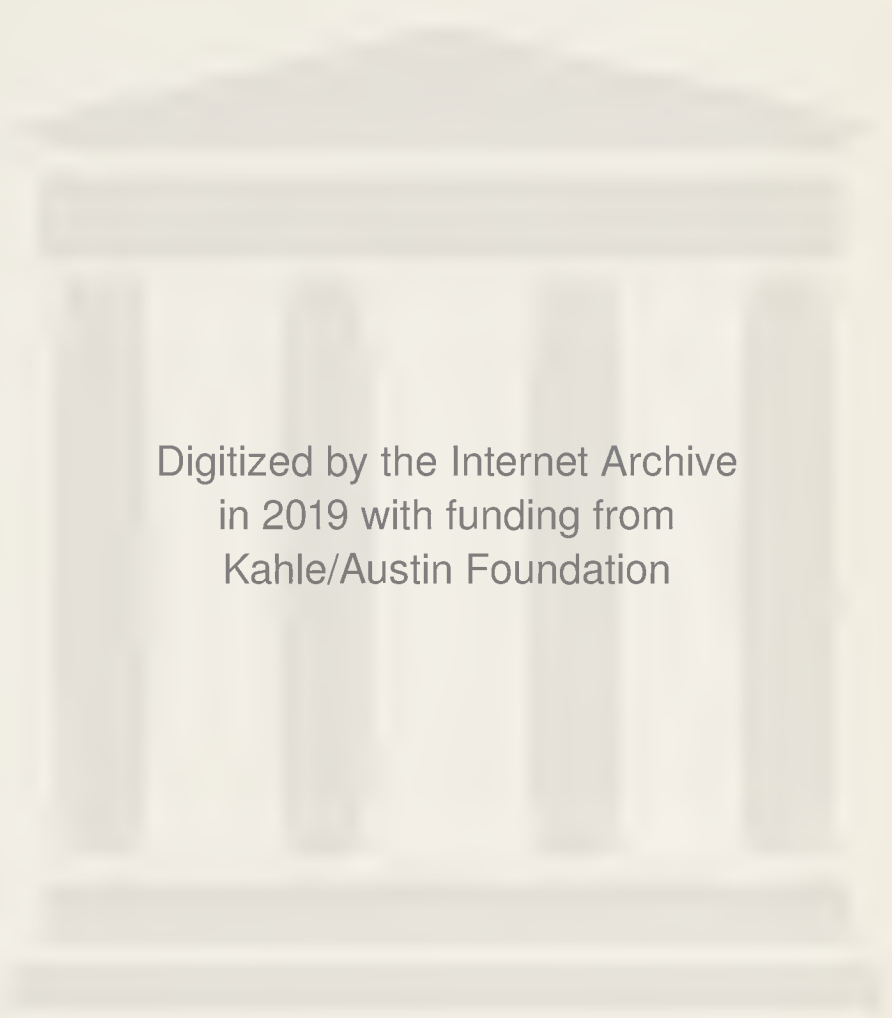


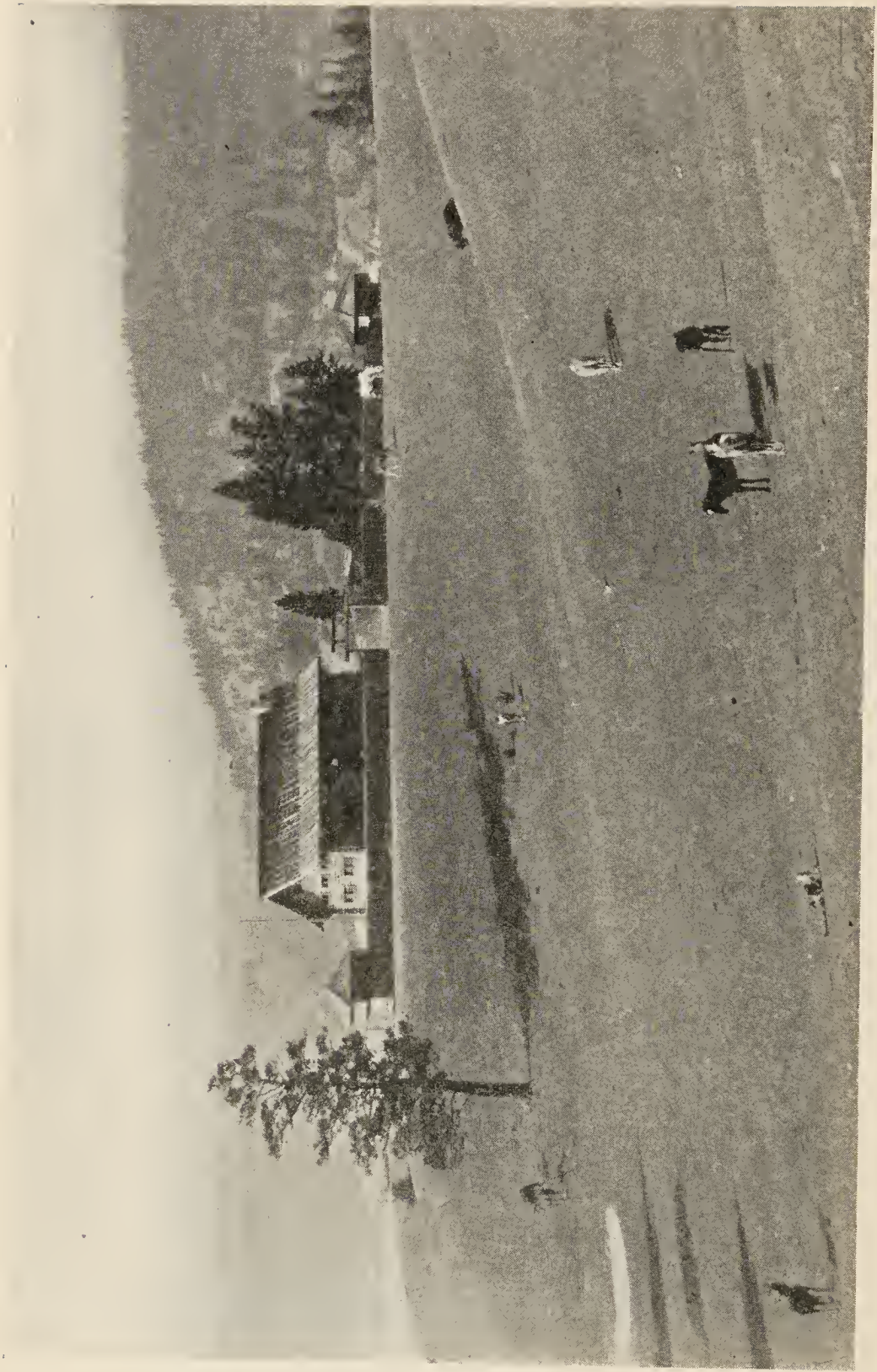
NUNC COGNOSCO EX PARTE



TRENT UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2019 with funding from
Kahle/Austin Foundation



David Thompson Memorial, Windermere, B. C.

THE
CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Annual Report
1923

PUBLISHED BY
THE CANADIAN NATIONAL PARKS BRANCH
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
OTTAWA

F5000, C26 - 1923

OTTAWA
F. A. ACLAND
PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
1923

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

President

Lawrence J. Burpee, Hope Chambers, Ottawa

Vice-President

W. D. Lighthall, 11 Place d'Armes, Montreal

Secretary-Treasurer

C. Marius Barbeau, Victoria Museum, Ottawa

Editor

J. F. Kenney, Dominion Archives, Ottawa

Councillors

Arthur G. Doughty, Dominion Archives, Ottawa
Pierre-Georges Roy, Provincial Archives, Quebec
George M. Wrong, University of Toronto, Toronto
Chester Martin, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg
Archibald MacMechan, Dalhousie University, Halifax
F. W. Howay, Law Courts, New Westminster

Standing Committee on Historic Landmarks.

Pemberton Smith, 260 St. James St., Montreal
Aegidius Fauteux, Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, Montreal
J. B. Harkin, Dominion Parks Branch, Ottawa
Mrs. J. B. Simpson, 173 Percy St., Ottawa
Hon. W. R. Riddell, Osgoode Hall, Toronto

Auditor

Lt.-Col. J. F. Cunningham, 400 Laurier Ave. E., Ottawa

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS—	
Presidential Address. Lawrence J. Burpee..	9
Report of Standing Committee on Historic Landmarks. Mrs. J. B. Simpson..	14
Financial Statement. C. M. Barbeau..	17
Minutes of Annual Meeting. C. M. Barbeau..	17
CONSTITUTION..	23
HISTORICAL PAPERS AND ADDRESSES—	
The North West Company. Lawrence J. Burpee..	25
Francis Parkman. Basil Williams..	29
Spanish Discovery of British Columbia. F. W. Howay..	49
LaFontaine, Rolph, et Papineau, M. B. de LaBruère..	56
Passing of the Sailing Ship at Quebec. Pemberton Smith	65
Two Monuments in Arctic Canada. D. Jenness	73
Notes on David Thompson. Lawrence J. Burpee..	75
Fort Simpson on the North West Coast. C. M. Barbeau..	84
SOME HISTORIC AND PREHISTORIC SITES OF CANADA..	90
LIST OF MEMBERS AND AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS..	101

**THE ANNUAL MEETING OF MAY THE TWENTY-FOURTH
AND TWENTY-FIFTH AT THE VICTORIA
MEMORIAL MUSEUM, OTTAWA**

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

LAWRENCE J. BURPEE

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

This is the first annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association. Thanks to the excellent foundation laid by the organization out of which we have grown—the Historic Landmarks Association of Canada—we are in a position to build up a strong and useful national society. We have across the border a fine example of what may be achieved by means of well-directed enthusiasm and teamwork. If we can measure in any degree up to the standard of the American Historical Association we shall not have lived in vain.

But that high standard cannot be reached without serious effort. The problems with which we have to deal are similar to those upon which our American friends have been engaged. What they have accomplished we may also achieve in our smaller field; and I have not any doubt that we shall do so. All that is really needed is a worth-while objective and a determination on the part of the executive and all the members of the association to reach that objective, once it is clearly defined.

Now, what are the objects of the Canadian Historical Association? As set forth in the Constitution (which will be brought before you for consideration and approval at this meeting), they are to “encourage historical research and public interest in history; to promote the preservation of historic sites and buildings, documents, relics and other significant heirlooms of the past; and to publish historical studies and documents as circumstances may permit.” Simple and unpretentious as is the language of our Constitution, here and elsewhere, it is evident that a comprehensive and ambitious programme can be built up without going outside its four corners.

The Canadian Historical Association is of course interested in all that relates to the history of our own country, but it does not necessarily confine its interest to that field, large and diversified and important as it unquestionably is. The association should, in fact, bear somewhat the same relation to provincial or local historical societies as a national library—if we were fortunate or broad-minded enough to possess one—would bear to provincial or local libraries; that is to say, its field should be all-embracing rather than limited. Its purpose is to encourage historical research in every field, here and else-

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

where, ancient as well as modern; and it places the broadest possible definition on history, as including not only political, military, social and economic records of the past, but also, to a greater or less extent, biography, geography and travels, folk-lore, archaeology, and ethnology.

That is not of course to say that we expect to accomplish any definite things in all these fields, but merely that we do not exclude them from our horizon; and that we welcome to our membership, and will be prepared to help in any way within our power, any one who is seriously engaged in any branch of historical work. It may be added here that we welcome to membership in the Canadian Historical Association not merely those who are actually engaged in historical research, but any man or woman who takes a sympathetic interest in the work of the association, and desires in that way to further its objects.

Since the organization meeting in May last, certain matters have come before the executive or the council for consideration. One of these, the question of preparing a series of outline lectures on various phases of Canadian history, is dealt with elsewhere. We hope that when the scheme has been mapped out—the first step obviously being to make a survey of the available material for lantern slides and other illustrative equipment—the members of the association will be prepared to aid in the preparation of the skeleton lectures.

A most appropriate memorial to David Thompson, the western explorer, was opened on the last days of August, 1922, with equally appropriate ceremonies. The memorial, which takes the form of a reproduction of a typical fur-trading fort of Thompson's day, stands on the shores of Lake Windermere, in the valley of the Columbia, not far from the spot where the explorer, in 1807, built his first post west of the mountains. The suggestion was made by one of the officers of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, which was largely responsible for the memorial, that the title to Fort Kootenay—as it has been called—should be vested in this association, and that we might undertake the responsibility of maintaining it as a museum of western history and the fur trade. On further consideration, however, it seemed advisable to put the management of the fort in the hands of the local authorities at Windermere, who were keenly interested in it, and could be relied upon to maintain it in a satisfactory manner.

While those in charge of the Windermere Memorial Fund did not find it practicable—as mentioned in last year's report—to put aside a certain amount for the erection of a suitably inscribed stone over David Thompson's grave in Mount Royal Cemetery, the matter has not been dropped. A memorial meeting was held in Montreal on the same day that Fort Kootenay was opened, and there is reason to believe that before long we shall be able to remove the reproach

against the people of Canada that they have allowed one of their greatest explorers to lie in an unmarked and practically unknown grave.

A statue was unveiled at Quebec on September 28 last, to the memory of Pierre Gaultier de La Vérendrye, who devoted a lifetime to western exploration and particularly to the discovery of an over-land route to the Pacific. In this, as in some other directions the Government of Quebec has set a praiseworthy example to the other provinces. The suggestion has been made to the Historic Sites and Monuments Board that a stone shaft or cairn be placed in Three Rivers to mark the birthplace of La Vérendrye.

The question of suitably marking the landfall of Jacques Cartier, which, as mentioned in last year's report, had been brought to the attention of the Dominion Government through the Historic Sites and Monuments Board, is still under consideration, but there is reason to hope that favourable action will be taken before long.

A suggestion also came before the council last year for the utilization of portions of the old well of the Recollet Monastery at Brouage in the erection of a monument on the Gaspé shore. The matter was referred to the Quebec Monuments Commission for their consideration.

As a representative of the association, I had the pleasure of taking part, on the 12th of this month, in the unveiling of a memorial at Quebec to the memory of the first of Quebec pilots, Abraham Martin, after whom the famous Plains were named.

Dr. Coyne and several other members represented the Association at the dedication at Port Dover in July last of the memorial to the explorers of Lake Erie, Dollier de Casson and René de Bréhant de Galinée.

In December I attended the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, at New Haven, and conveyed to them a message of good will, expressing also the hope that the two national organizations might find opportunities of friendly co-operation in promoting the interests they both have at heart.

An International Congress on the History of America was held in September, 1922, at Rio de Janeiro. Dr. Doughty, a member of our council, represented the association. The association was also represented at the International Historical Congress at Brussels in April, 1923.

The attention of the association having been brought to the fact that "The Priory," an historic building at Guelph, associated with the Canada Company, was rapidly falling into decay, the possibility of restoring or preserving this interesting relic of Upper Canada was taken up with the Historic Sites and Monuments Board and early consideration was promised.

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Another matter which has been the subject of correspondence between this association and the British Columbia Historical Association and others, is the protection and preservation of certain remarkable Indian petroglyphs near Nanaimo. The latest information we have is that the company on whose land these prehistoric pictures stand has undertaken to take charge of their conservation.

The situation at Nanaimo suggests the desirability of the Canadian Government being urged to adopt some such policy as that of the United States Government, in withdrawing from settlement and turning into reservations areas containing prehistoric or Indian memorials.

Your executive has taken up with the Canadian Authors Association the desirability of these two national bodies joining with others in some appropriate celebration of the centenary of the birth of Francis Parkman, on September 16 next.

The British Columbia Historical Association reports that at its last meeting it passed a resolution urging the Historic Sites and Monuments Board to consider the erection of two monuments, one at Nootka sound, and the other at the spot where Alexander Mackenzie reached the Pacific on his memorable overland journey.

A matter to which the association should give some consideration is the desirability, or otherwise, of bringing about some such relationship between the Canadian Historical Association and one or more of the Canadian historical periodicals as exists between the American Historical Association and the American Historical Review.

It may be noted as a gratifying sign of the times that to-day three of the colleges of the United States are offering regular courses in Canadian history.

In last year's report we noted the establishment of the Quebec Historic Monuments Commission. We have now the pleasure of recording the organization of a British Columbia Historical Association, and provision by the Government of Ontario for an historical survey of the province.

A group of students of the Montreal High School, during the past winter, put on a very successful Canadian historical masque, written by Miss J. F. Baillie, one of their teachers. The masque was presented under the auspices of the association, and it is understood that Miss Baillie intends to publish it, so that it may be available for similar presentation elsewhere throughout the country.

Something has been said already about various historical memorials in different parts of Canada, established within the last year or two. It seems appropriate that this association should recognize the fine public spirit shown by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, in promoting and meeting the cost of several of these memorials. The two companies joined in the

ANNUAL REPORT, 1923

expense of the Thompson Memorial at Windermere. The Hudson's Bay Company also put a memorial stone, with a suitable inscription, over the grave of Simon Fraser; and among other things has undertaken to keep the old Stone Fort at Winnipeg in repair and maintain it as an historical museum. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company has paid for the Abraham Martin memorial; and we must also thank them for the appropriate Acadian memorial at Grand Pré.

REPORT OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON HISTORIC LANDMARKS

The Standing Committee on Historic Landmarks gratefully records the outstanding event of the past season, the fruit of repeated appeals since 1915. On August 30, 1922, at Windermere, B.C., the splendid achievements of David Thompson, as explorer and surveyor, were at last recognized. At the place where in 1807 he wintered and built Fort Kootenay, the first trading post on the waters of the Columbia, a representative group of Canadians and Americans gathered to do honour to the memory of one of the greatest of western pathfinders. The commemorative ceremonies took place in and about a memorial fort, erected through the generosity of two great Canadian corporations, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and the Hudson's Bay Company.

Another historic event took place in September of the previous year, when in the old Roman Catholic cemetery of St. Andrews West, near Cornwall, Ontario, a monument was erected over the grave of Simon Fraser, bearing the following inscription:—

"In memory of Simon Fraser, explorer, born 1776, died, 1862. While in the employ of the North West Company he conducted important exploration and pioneer work, principally in the area now known as British Columbia, which he helped to secure for the British. He led the first exploring expedition to descend the great river which bears his name, reaching the Gulf of Georgia on July 2nd, 1808. This monument was erected in 1921, by the Hudson's Bay Company."

An even earlier Canadian explorer, Pierre Gaultier de La Vérendrye, has also had some belated recognition in his native country within the last few years. A stone with an appropriate inscription marks the spot where he was born, in the town of Three Rivers on the St. Lawrence. The province of Manitoba, which he was first to explore and where he built several trading posts between 1730 and 1740, placed a memorial statue of La Vérendrye in front of the new Parliament Buildings at Winnipeg in 1920; and in September, 1922, the province of Quebec erected a statue to the same great explorer in front of the Parliament Buildings at Quebec. These statues, it is perhaps unnecessary to say, do not pretend to represent the actual appearance of La Vérendrye, as no portrait of the explorer is known to exist.

The attention of the committee has been drawn to some historic landmarks in Winnipeg and vicinity, including the site of Fort Douglas, built in 1813 by the Earl of Selkirk, founder of the Red River Settlement. This fort stood about a mile below the confluence of

the Red and Assiniboine rivers, on the south side of Point Douglas. The site is now within the boundaries of the city of Winnipeg, at the foot of George street.

Another site that has waited long to be marked in some way is that of Fort La Bosse, an old North West Company post near Virden, Manitoba. It is reported that the site has been disfigured by digging a gravel pit in the midst of it, but there is still room for a tablet.

An appeal was received to mark the grave of Peguis, in St. Peter's churchyard at Dynevor. Peguis was a Saulteux chief, whose word was law for sixty years among the red men of the Great Lone Land. Peguis rendered in the west even more signal service to the whites than did Brant and Tecumseh in the Canadian east.

The committee wish to draw attention to the fact that the Selkirk Memorial and surroundings at Seven Oaks are showing signs of neglect. The people of Winnipeg owe it to themselves to see that these landmarks are properly cared for.

ADDENDA IN CONNECTION WITH THE DAVID THOMPSON LANDMARKS
Cf. *Royal Society of Canada*, Third Series, Vol. V (1909-1910),
pp. xviii, xix.

The Committee formed last year to consider the matter of a memorial to David Thompson, the astronomer, Messrs. J. B. Tyrrell, Dr. Wilfred Campbell and James White, were allowed until next year to present their report.

Also Vol. VI, February 27, 1912. The David Thompson Statue: Letter to R. L. Borden, Premier of Canada:—

"SIR,—This Committee consists of J. B. Tyrrell, F.R.G.S., etc., Wilfred Campbell, LL.D., F.R.S.C., James White, F.R.G.S., and Sir Edmund Walker, appointed by the Royal Society to endeavour to erect a monument or statue to David Thompson, who was not only one of the greatest geographers that the British race has produced, but also the foremost pionéer in the opening up of Western Canada in the civilized world. A poor orphan from a Charity School in London, he entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company at 14 years of age, at 19 at Cumberland House, on the Saskatchewan river (1789). For 23 years he surveyed the main rivers, lakes and mountains from Lake Huron westward to the Pacific Ocean and from mouth of the Columbia river northward to Lake Athabasca. For this no remuneration except his pay as an ordinary fur-trader. In the fall of 1812 he settled near Montreal and made a great map of North Western America which has furnished the basis of every map since. In 1816 he was appointed by the British Government as astronomer to survey the Boundary Line between the United States and Canada; he was ten years on this work, known at Washington and London as

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

'the Thompson Maps.' His Journals of 43 MSS volumes are in the vaults of the Crown Lands Department at Toronto (preserved by late Andrew Russell, Assistant Commissioner). \$10,000 amount required, \$5,000 asked from the Dominion Government. To be erected either in Ottawa the Capital City of the Dominion, or in Winnipeg or some of the cities of the West in the country where Thompson spent the most active and vigorous part of his life."

See also *The Historical Landmarks Association of Canada, Annual Report*, 1917, pp. 45-6; 1919, p. 36; 1920, p. 15.

Mrs. J. B. SIMPSON,
Ottawa.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1923

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

FOR THE YEAR ENDING MAY 24, 1923

Receipts—

Balance in the Bank of Montreal, April 30, 1922....	\$ 358 09
Annual and Life subscriptions..	475 99
Bank interest	8 46
	<hr/>
	\$ 842 54

Expenditures—

Printing (circular letters and constitution)....	\$ 76 14
Postage and sundries..	49 07
Secretary-treasurer's remuneration and expenses..	200 00
Towards expenses of delegate to the Thompson Celebration at Windermere, B.C.	100 00
Expenses of delegate to the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association at New Haven, Conn...	50 00
Balance in the Bank of Montreal, May 24, 1923..	367 33
	<hr/>
	\$ 842 54

C. M. BARBEAU,
Treasurer.

Examined and found correct:

JAS. F. CUNNINGHAM,
Auditor.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

(C. MARIUS BARBEAU)

The annual meeting of the association was held in the Victoria Memorial Museum, Ottawa, on the evening of May 24, and at 10 a.m. and 2 p.m. of May 25.

On the evening of May 24 before a large audience the popular addresses were given by Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee, the president of the association, on "The North West Company," and Professor Basil Williams, of McGill University, on "Francis Parkman."

The members present and the affiliated societies represented were: Professor Archibald MacMechan, Mr. Diamond Jenness, Mr. G. E. Wilson, Professor Chester Martin (representing the Manitoba

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Historical Society), Professor Wm. H. Atherton, Mr. John Wallace (representing the Wentworth Historical Society), Major J. Plimsoll Edwards (representing the Nova Scotia Historical Society), Mrs. J. M. Somerville, Mrs. J. B. Simpson (representing the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa), Mrs. E. J. Thompson (representing the Niagara Historical Society), Mr. Pemberton Smith (representing the Antiquarian and Numismatic Society of Montreal), Professor Chester W. New, Mrs. E. F. Colson (representing the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire), Professor Basil Williams, Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee, Hon. F. W. Howay (representing the British Columbia Historical Association), Dr. James H. Coyne (representing the Elgin Historical and Scientific Institute), Mr. J. F. Kenney, M. Montarville Boucher de La Bruère, Mr. R. C. Bowen, Mr. A. R. M. Lower, Dr. J. C. Webster, Mr. James White, Mr. Francis J. Audet, Mr. J. B. Harkin, Mr. D. B. Dowling, Brigadier-General E. A. Cruikshank, Mr. H. R. Holmden, Mr. C. Marius Barbeau and others.

At the morning and afternoon meetings of May 25, various matters relating to the activities of the association were discussed, and the addresses and papers read were the following:—

Professor Archibald MacMechan, on "How history should be taught in our schools;"

Mr. Diamond Jenness, on "Two monuments in Arctic Canada;"

Dr. D. B. Dowling, on "Rocky Mountain House and other early posts near the foothills of the Rocky mountains;"

Mr. C. Marius Barbeau, on "Port Simpson;"

Mr. Pemberton Smith, on "The passing of the sailing ship at Quebec;"

M. Montarville Boucher de La Bruère, on "Lafontaine, Rolph et Papineau; épisodes de 1838 et de 1843;"

Judge F. W. Howay, on "The Spanish discovery of British Columbia in 1774;"

Mr. James White, on "Historic aspects of the Labrador boundary question;"

Dr. J. C. Webster, on "Methods of teaching history."

The Report of the Treasurer was presented, and adopted on the motion of Major J. Plimsoll Edwards.

The Report of the Standing Committee on Historic Landmarks was presented, and its adoption was moved by Mr. Pemberton Smith, the chairman.

After the new Constitution was read the final adoption of its clauses was moved by Pemberton Smith, and seconded by Archibald MacMechan and Wm. H. Atherton.

Mr. John Wallace, as representative of the Wentworth Historical Society, brought forward a motion urging the association to help

in insuring the preservation of Burlington Heights, on the Niagara peninsula, as a national park. The following memorandum was appended to the motion:—

THE BURLINGTON HEIGHTS

The matter which I wish to bring to the notice of the association concerns a movement in the city of Hamilton to-day with regard to the preservation and purchase of the Burlington Heights, one of the most interesting historic spots in the Dominion of Canada.

Geology plays a part in the making of the history of any war, but I have no intention of enlarging upon that particular phase of geology in relation to history. We would like to draw attention to the fact that had it not been for this peculiar narrow neck of land, about two miles long, a quarter of a mile wide and over a hundred feet high, the battle of Stoney Creek would never have been fought. The strategy of the war of 1812-14 would have been different. It was due to the military strength of this position in those days that the Niagara peninsula is still under the Union Jack.

Up to 1856 the Burlington Heights were part of the British Admiralty lands abroad, and Downing Street then turned these lands (178 acres—see Statutes of Canada, 1859) over to Canada, but they have, unfortunately, with the exception of two lots, been alienated. The two lots preserved are the Old Military Cemetery, in which we believe are the bodies of British soldiers, Americans who were shot as spies, and between 700 and 900 Irish emigrants who died on the wharves and around Dundas of ship fever (which takes us back to the days of the terrible Irish Famine).

The Wentworth Historical Society has been doing everything possible to have the remaining small part of the original rampart, erected in 1812, reserved for all time. Part of it is now in the possession of a Hamilton citizen, who has proposed to put a mausoleum there. The property adjoining the cemetery is owned by the Armstrong Supply Company whose activities are now invading the edge of the cemetery. Many parts have fallen in and only last week the last of the original markers fell in, due to the erosion caused by the gravel digging.

The Society of which I am a member is strongly of the opinion that the Burlington Heights should be a National and Historic Park. I trust that this association will take some action in the matter.—*John Wallace.*

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The motion was followed by discussion and further elucidation, in which Mr. Pemberton Smith and Professor W. H. Atherton took part.

Professor MacMechan's address on "How history should be taught in our schools," was followed by an interesting discussion in which participated Mrs. E. J. Thompson, Professor Chester W. New, Dr. J. C. Webster, Professor Chester Martin, Mr. J. F. Kenney, Dr. James Coyne, Brigadier-General Cruikshank, and Mr. L. J. Burpee.

Mrs. E. J. Thompson stated that, in her opinion, "children should first be taught the history of their own locality and province and thus be brought to feel the importance of the history of the whole Dominion. If children are shown the places of historical interest in their own neighbourhood, they become conscious of the fact that they are part of its history;" and the speaker added, "For the past twenty years I have tried to impress this point on various educational associations."

Dr. J. C. Webster then developed the following ideas: Canadian history as taught in our schools is dreary drudgery; the school books are uninteresting, devoid of illustrations of any kind. European schools in that respect are far better equipped than we are. Ocular demonstration through wall pictures, according to a French authority, is the greatest influence in the development of a love of country and a knowledge of its history. Moving pictures and lantern slides are equally important. The speaker emphasized the point of how ignorant the people of Canada are of their own historic sites and how indifferent to their history as a whole. For seven years he had himself experimented with various methods of teaching history in the schools of the Maritime Provinces and his campaign had produced valuable results. The Secretary of State for Canada, the Dominion Archives, the Department of the Interior, and the Canadian Historical Association have decided to collaborate in a scheme to provide illustrations for the teaching of Canadian history. Slides, skeleton lectures and other materials will soon be available free of charge for educational purposes.

Dr. Chester W. New supported Professor MacMechan's proposal for an historical atlas, stating, "The Canadian Historical Association should give its hearty support to everything that would make the study of Canadian history in the schools more interesting. It was the experience of probably every teacher of history in Canadian universities that fully seventy-five per cent of every freshman class had acquired a profound distaste for history in general and a special hatred for Canadian history in particular. There was something very wrong somewhere, and the association might be able to get under some of the difficulties in bringing about appropriate reforms. If the plan for the atlas successfully developed the association would probably

have also to see that it was introduced in the schools. Teachers must be encouraged to use supplementary material of this sort. It is our hope that some day a good source book of Canadian history may be prepared for use in the schools."

Professor Chester Martin commended the new educational scheme as expounded by Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee, the president of the association, and by Dr. J. C. Webster, its originator. Enthusiasm for the study of history as it exists in the universities is lacking in the lower schools. What is the use of speaking of Gothic architecture without illustrations to children who know only grain elevators. History must be "put over," according to the American term, otherwise it is of no use. The West will gladly cooperate in any enterprise that will make the teaching of history in the schools more effective and successful.

The resolution was then moved by Professor Archibald Mac-Mechan and seconded by Dr. J. C. Webster, Professor Chester Martin and Mr. Pemberton Smith—That the incoming executive of the association be requested to make an estimate of costs for publishing an album or atlas illustrating the history of Canada, both French and English, to be used as a school-book, with a view to approaching the Government and obtaining its financial support; also the executive should remain actively interested in the scheme of the Dominion Archives to prepare lantern slides on the history of Canada for educational purposes.

The question of totem-pole villages and the destruction of ancient aboriginal art on the northwest coast was then introduced through a letter received from Mr. Harlan I. Smith, the archæologist of the Victoria Memorial Museum. In the course of the discussion Mr. J. B. Harkin stated that the conservation of native art and relics should be of deep concern. Recently it was reported that the picturesque Alert Bay totem poles were to be cut down and sold. There is no doubt that the question of saving native art from total destruction will soon have to be faced. The Departments of Mines and Indian Affairs had recently appointed a committee to report on the matter. Mr. C. M. Barbeau added that since 1915, to his own knowledge, two former totem-pole villages of the Tsimshian had ceased to exist—those of Port Simpson and Ayaensh, between the Nass and Skeena rivers; and others were threatened. Misguided religious revivals among the natives and fanatical mob crazes were to blame. A motion was passed unanimously supporting the committee of the Department of Mines and of Indian Affairs in every effort to prevent further intentional destruction of totem poles and to devise some means for their preservation.

Moved by J. F. Kenney and seconded by C. M. Barbeau—That the thanks of the Canadian Historical Association be conveyed to the

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Department of the Interior, Parks Branch, for the publication of the Annual Report of the Association for 1922.

Moved by Mrs. J. M. Somerville and seconded by Mrs. E. J. Thompson—That this association wishes to record its deep sorrow at the death of Mr. George Durnford, and desires to convey its sympathies to the bereaved family. Mr. Durnford was the charter treasurer of this association at the time when it was known by its former name, The Historic Landmarks Association. He came of a family of interest to the people of Ottawa: his grandfather, Colonel Durnford (afterwards General Durnford), was the Royal Engineer in charge of public works in Canada at the time that John By built the Rideau canal; and Colonel Durnford came up to Ottawa several times to inspect the work while it was in progress.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Moved by F. W. Howay and seconded by Archibald MacMechan—That Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee be elected as president of the Canadian Historical Association.

Moved by J. C. Webster and seconded by Chester Martin—That Mr. Pemberton Smith be elected vice-president of the association. Mr. Smith retired in favour of the former vice-president, Mr. W. D. Lighthall.

Moved by Pemberton Smith and seconded by F. W. Howay—That C.-M. Barbeau be elected to the office of secretary-treasurer.

Moved by Chester Martin and seconded by J. Plimsoll Edwards—That Mr. J. F. Kenney be elected to the office of editor.

Moved by Chester W. New and seconded by Mrs. E. F. Colson—That Professor G. M. Wrong, M. Pierre-Georges Roy, Judge F. W. Howay, Dr. A. G. Doughty, and Professors Archibald MacMechan and Chester Martin be elected as members of the council.

Moved by J. C. Webster and seconded by James H. Coyne—That Mr. Pemberton Smith, M. Æ. Fauteux, Mr. J. B. Harkin, Mrs. Simpson and Hon. W. R. Riddell constitute the Standing Committee on Historic Landmarks, with power to add to their numbers, the first-named to be chairman.

Moved by H. R. Holmden and seconded by Montarville Boucher de La Bruère—That Col. J. F. Cunningham be elected to the office of auditor.

Moved by Wm. H. Atherton and seconded by Mrs. J. B. Simpson—That the association desires to express its appreciation of the services of Col. J. F. Cunningham as auditor for the past year.

Moved by Pemberton Smith and seconded by F. W. Howay—That the thanks of the association be extended to the officers for the efficient discharge of their duties in the past year.

C. MARIUS BARBEAU,
Secretary.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1923

CONSTITUTION

I. NAME

This society shall henceforth be known as The Canadian Historical Association.

II. OBJECTS

The objects of the association shall be:

To encourage historical research and public interest in history;

To promote the preservation of historic sites and buildings, documents, relics and other significant heirlooms of the past;

To publish historical studies and documents as circumstances may permit.

III. MEMBERSHIP

The association shall consist of the members of The Historic Landmarks Association of Canada together with such others, approved by the council, as may be comprised in the following classes:

Members, whose annual dues shall be \$2;

Life members, whose fees shall be \$50 in one payment;

Honorary or corresponding members, restricted to persons not resident in Canada, who shall be exempt from payment of fees;

Such *organizations* as may desire to become members, and whose annual dues shall be \$5.

All fees shall become due and shall be paid upon receipt of a notification from the secretary-treasurer or someone appointed by him.

IV. OFFICERS

The officers shall be a president, a vice-president, a secretary-treasurer and an editor.

The council shall consist of the officers, together with six other members.

The council shall be elected at the annual meeting, nominations to be made from the floor, individually for each officer and collectively for the other members, and voted upon by ballot.

The duties of the officers shall be those generally attached to their respective offices, together with such others as may from time to time be prescribed.

An annual allowance may be made for the work of the executive officers, the amount to be fixed by the council.

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

V. STANDING COMMITTEES

There shall be a Standing Committee to be known as The Landmarks Committee, and such other standing committees as may from time to time be created by the association at its annual meeting.

VI. MEETINGS

The annual meeting shall be held at a time and place to be fixed by the council.

The officers and standing committees shall report at the annual meeting on the activities of the association, and their statements may be published in an annual report.

The council may include in the programme of the annual meeting such papers or addresses as in its opinion would further the aims of the association and be of interest to the members; and it shall decide which if any of these papers or addresses are to be published in the annual report.

Special meetings may be called by the council whenever necessary.

VII. AMENDMENTS

The Constitution may be amended at the annual meeting, by two-thirds of the members present, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting or received and approved by the council at least one month before the annual meeting.

HISTORICAL PAPERS AND ADDRESSES

THE NORTH WEST COMPANY

BY

LAWRENCE J. BURPEE

(This address, designed to suggest the possibilities of the scheme of skeleton or outline lectures which the Association is preparing in collaboration with the Dominion Archives, was illustrated by means of wall maps, coloured and uncoloured lantern slides, phonograph records, motion pictures and a village chorus.)

By all odds the most interesting question that has been brought before the association during the last twelve months is that of a series of illustrated skeleton lectures on different phases of Canadian history. This project originated with a member of the Association, Dr. J. C. Webster, of Shediac, New Brunswick, who discussed it with Dr. Doughty and myself. The idea, very briefly, is to have prepared outline lectures dealing with all the more important epochs or incidents in our history, each lecture to be accompanied by a series of lantern slides that would effectively illustrate it, and perhaps by other appropriate material, such as large-scale maps and diagrams, and possibly in some cases, motion pictures and phonograph records.

The scheme, so far as it has been mapped out in discussion, is not to be bound by any rigid rules. One lecture, for instance, might deal with the sieges of Quebec, or with only one of them; another with the founding of Halifax and its early history; others with the story of the Acadians, the United Empire Loyalists, the Jesuit Missionaries of New France, the Selkirk Settlement, the Canada Company, the War of 1812, the Hudson's Bay Company, the Fenian Raids, the story of Montreal, of Ottawa, Toronto or other Canadian towns, the discovery and exploration of Hudson bay, the search for an overland route to the Pacific, the story of Champlain, La Salle, Frontenac, Wolfe, Brock, Simcoe, Sir John Macdonald, Joseph Howe, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, Laurier, Blake, and so forth. There are almost limitless opportunities to build up skeleton lectures on men and events that were part and parcel of the history of Canada.

The intention is that each of these skeleton lectures will be prepared by someone recognized as an authority on that particular subject; and one of the first questions that must be determined is just how far these lectures should be carried. What we must aim at is the happy medium between a bald outline and a complete lecture; between a bone-dry skeleton and a living and full-blooded organism. That, after all, is not quite so simple a question as it might appear to be. The object of these lectures is to supply teachers in public and

high schools and others who are in a position to use it, with authentic material to be moulded into any form that they may find most effective. Now it is obvious that one man might be already so well informed that only a few special hints might be needed, while another would need a good deal of help to get his subject into satisfactory shape. The thing must be flexible enough to meet a great variety of cases. It must convey sufficient, but not too much, information. But, above all, it must be authoritative. Its main justification will be that it affords an effective medium for the spreading among Canadians, and perhaps also among those who are not Canadians, of accurate information and sound interpretation in the matter of Canadian history.

As a first step, a careful survey is being made of all the available sources of illustrative material that may be converted into slides. This material will be classified, so that anyone undertaking the preparation of one of the skeleton lectures will know exactly what pictures he has at his disposal. As a matter of fact, in most cases the lectures will probably be written around the pictures, rather than the pictures fitted into the lecture. When a lecture has been completed, a number of copies of the text and an equal number of sets of the slides will be prepared, and these will be put at the disposal of those who can make effective use of them.

I had thought that, as the association will, I hope, take an active part in the preparation of these skeleton lectures, it might be worth while to attempt to give a concrete example of one of them. I am not offering this as a model form of lecture, for I am not yet clear in my own mind as to just what form these outlines should take, or as to how much should be embodied in them. It is merely a suggestion of some things that might be included in a particular lecture. Because I happen to have given a little thought and investigation to the western fur trade, I have taken as my subject the story of the North West Company. The material that I have to illustrate it has been hastily gathered together, and is very far from complete. It may, however, serve to suggest the possibilities of this side of the scheme. This material is partly in the form of slides, partly in the shape of a wall map, partly in motion pictures, and partly in phonograph records and a village chorus. These means of illustration may, in many cases, be effectively used for such a purpose.

Now anyone purposing to lecture on the North West Company would, it seems to me, make Montreal his point of departure. The North West Company was born in Montreal, and Montreal remained its headquarters until it was finally absorbed by its great rival, the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1821. Although the sturdy and adventurous spirits who created this essentially Canadian body, with all it stood for in pluck and energy, trade and exploration, are to-day

almost completely forgotten, there are still some suggestive things to be seen in and about Montreal, if you go about with your eyes open. Beaver Hall Hill itself is a perpetual reminder. Here stood for many years Beaver Hall, the home of Joseph Frobisher, one of the founders of the company. Near the head of Simpson street, let into the wall of a house, is a tablet recording this as the site of the home of Sir Alexander Mackenzie, fur trader, discoverer of the Mackenzie river, and the first white man to realize the old dream of an overland route to the Pacific. Another tablet, near the foot of St. Urbain street, marks the site of the home of Alexander Henry, another of the *bourgeois* of the North West Company. And in a courtyard, on the left side of St. Gabriel street, as you go down the hill from Notre Dame, still stood, up to a few weeks ago, practically as it did a century and a quarter ago, the old warehouse of the company.

(Slides: Old Montreal)

Parkman gives us a glimpse of what Montreal was in the palmy days of the fur trade. "The Montreal of that time (1760) was a long, narrow assemblage of wooden or stone houses, one or two stories high, above which rose the peaked towers of the Seminary, the spires of three churches, the walls of four convents, with the trees of their adjacent gardens and conspicuous at the lower end, a high mound of earth, crowned by a redoubt, where a few cannon were mounted. The whole was surrounded by a shallow moat and a bastioned stone wall, made for defence against Indians, and incapable of resisting cannon." These fortifications, built by the engineer De Léry in 1723, were not removed until early in the following century. A narrow lane shows where they once stood. Many of the substantial stone buildings of the French period are still standing to-day, and, looking down one of the ancient thoroughfares toward the water front, from say the Place d'Armes, and shutting one's eyes and ears to the unattractive sights and sounds of twentieth century traffic, it is not very difficult to imagine oneself in the Montreal of the North West Company.

One who is preparing a lecture on the fur trade will, however, probably demand something more substantial than imagination to build his story upon. To get the right perspective he will need to have a pretty fair grasp of the historical background—Montreal and Canada before the conquest, and after the conquest—the political, economic and social conditions that made possible such an organization as the North West Company, and that influenced its history. This historical background he will find in the works of such men as Abbé Casgrain, Parkman, Garneau and Bibaud, De Gaspé and Peter Kalm. Wrong, Lucas, Colby and Biggar; and specifically for Montreal of the latter half of the eighteenth century, in Atherton, Bosworth, McLennan and Sandham. (I have

avoided titles and other bibliographical details, but of course these would form an important part of the skeleton lectures.)

Getting back to the North West Company, the documentary sources are both in print and manuscript. Manuscript material relating to the company is principally in the Archives at Ottawa and in the McGill University Library; also in the archives of the Montreal Court House, in the manuscript collections of the Michigan and Wisconsin Historical Societies, the Burton Collection at Detroit, and some minor sources. Much the most important material in print is Masson's "*Bourgeois de la compagnie du Nord-Ouest*," which consists of original journals and narratives by members of the North West Company, gathered by Roderick McKenzie, of the company, and published by the late Senator Masson with a valuable introduction. The introduction is in French, and most of the journals in English. Other original sources in print are Alexander Mackenzie's *History of the Fur Trade*, in his "*Voyages*," and the published narratives of David Thompson, Alexander Henry, and his nephew of the same name, Harmon, Franchère, Alexander Ross and Ross Cox, all members of the North West Company. Then there are the various histories or historical studies of the fur trade, by Davidson, Bryce, Miss Laut and the present speaker. So far as the printed sources are concerned, except in one or two cases where the books have become rare, a mere reference would be sufficient in the skeleton lecture. For the manuscript sources, it will probably be found desirable to include extracts from the original documents in the outline.

Now, what shall we glean from these manuscript and printed sources, that would help a man to lecture intelligently, accurately, and, let us hope, without boring his audience? There it is that we shall find many things relating to the North West Company, to the independent traders who created the company, to the conditions of the fur trade, the character of those engaged in it, their relations with the Indians and with their trade rivals of the XY Company, the Hudson's Bay Company and various American companies, how and where they travelled, the character of their trading posts and the life they lived there, the tremendously important explorations they carried out merely as incidents of their work as fur-traders, their fisheries, modes of hunting the buffalo, trapping beaver, and a host of minor points, the relative importance of which depends a good deal upon the individual point of view.

(Wall map showing trade routes and posts)

As to the illustrative material, to begin with, this wall map of the Dominion shows in a general way the water thoroughfares of the fur trade, from Montreal westward. There were, as you will see, two routes from Montreal to lake Huron, one by way of the Ottawa river,

lake Nipissing and French river, and the other, by way of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes. The former, however, was the recognized route of the Nor' Westers. The Lakes route led more particularly to Detroit, an important point in the fur trade under both French and British rule. From lake Huron the route followed the north shore of lake Huron, or the south shore of Manitoulin island; then up St. Mary's river to lake Superior, and along the north shore of that lake to its western end. There the fur-traders used, at different times, three distinct routes as far as Rainy lake, one by way of Grand Portage, the second up the Kaministiquia, and the third by Fond du Lac and the St. Louis river.

From Rainy lake, the fur-traders descended Rainy river to the lake of the Woods, and Winnipeg river to lake Winnipeg. From this great central reservoir, water routes radiated in every direction, north-east to Hudson bay, south by way of Red river to the upper Mississippi, from Red river up the Assiniboine and then overland to the Missouri, and west from the upper end of lake Winnipeg up the Saskatchewan. From Cumberland lake, on the Saskatchewan, small streams and lakes led north to Frog portage and the Churchill, west up that river to Methye portage or Portage La Locke, and down the Clearwater to the Athabaska river and the lake of the same name. From lake Athabaska, Slave river led to Great Slave lake and the Mackenzie.

Various routes were used by the fur-traders to get over the Rockies. The earliest was by way of Peace river and the Peace River pass. Others were by the Athabaska and Athabaska pass; and the Saskatchewan and Howse pass. The Peace river route connected with the Fraser river west of the mountains, and both the Athabaska and Howse routes led to the Columbia and the Kootenay. Nature, it will be seen, had given the fur-trader a marvellous system of water highways, for it is literally true that, with the exception of an occasional portage, he could and did travel by water, from lake Winnipeg, east to the Atlantic, south to the gulf of Mexico, west to the Pacific, north to the Arctic, and northeast to Hudson bay.

(Slides showing the western rivers and mountains)

Let us suppose that a certain party of fur-traders is about to start for one of the western posts. The party is in charge of a trusted officer of the North West Company. The trading goods and supplies have been loaded into a certain number of canoes, technically known as a brigade, or if it was a large expedition there might be several brigades, each of eight or ten canoes, and each brigade in charge of a guide or pilot. Each canoe carries a burden of three or four tons, and is manned by eight or nine voyageurs.

They embark at Lachine, and as the paddles dip into the water, some one starts up one of the old chansons, and the others join in.

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

(*Canoe songs of old voyageurs reproduced on the phonograph:*

"*A la claire fontaine,*" "*L'aviron, qui nous monte,*
qui nous mène.")

There are many contemporary accounts to choose from of the canoe brigades of the North West Company, and their modes of travel. They were described by Alexander Ross, by Daniel Williams Harmon (whose daughter, by the way, as some of you may remember, kept a girls' school in Ottawa some years ago), by Alexander Henry, and others. Here is the account of Peter Grant, of the North West Company, whose narrative is in the Masson collection:—

"The North West Company's canoes," he says, "seldom draw more than eighteen inches of water and go, generally, at the rate of six miles an hour in calm weather. When arrived at a portage, the bowman instantly jumps in the water, to prevent the canoe from touching the bottom, while the others tie their slings to the packages in the canoe and swing them on their backs to carry over the portage. The bowman and the steersman carry their canoe, a duty from which the middlemen are exempt. The whole is conducted with astonishing expedition, a necessary consequence of the enthusiasm which always attends their long and perilous voyages.

"It is pleasing to see them, when the weather is calm and serene, paddling in their canoes, singing in chorus their simple melodious strains and keeping exact time with their paddles, which effectually beguiles their labours. When they arrive at a rapid, the guide or foreman's business is to explore the waters previous to their running down with their canoes, and, according to the height of the water, they either lighten the canoe by taking out part of the cargo and carry it overland, or run down the whole load.

"It is astonishing to witness the dexterity with which they manage their canoes in those dangerous rapids, carrying them down like lightning on the surface of the water. The bowman, supported by the steersman, dexterously avoids the rocks and shoals which might touch the canoe and dash it to pieces, to the almost certain destruction of all on board. It often baffles their skill, when the water is very high, to avoid plunging in foaming swells on the very brink of the most tremendous precipices, yet those bold adventurers rather run this risk than lose a few hours by transporting the cargo overland.

"When they are obliged to stem the current in strong rapids, they haul up the canoe with a line, all hands pulling along shore and sometimes wading through the water up to their middle, except one man, who remains in the stern of the canoe in order to keep it in the proper channel. When the wind favours they always carry sail, and in a fresh gale will generally go eight or nine miles an hour."

(Slides showing canoe brigades)

Here is a graphic touch or two from another contemporary narrative:—

“At dawn of day they set out; the men now and then relax their arms and light their pipes, but no sooner does the headway of the canoe die away than they renew their labours and their chorus, a particular voice being ever selected to lead the song. . .

“When it is practicable to make way in the dark, four hours is the voyageurs’ allowance of rest; and at time, on boisterous lakes and bold shores, they keep for days and nights together on the water, without intermission and without repose. They sing to keep time to their paddles; they sing to keep off drowsiness, caused by their fatigue; and they sing because the bourgeois likes it.”

The voyageur or boatman of the North West Company formed one of the principal links between the old fur trade of the French régime and the new fur trade of British rule. He was almost invariably French Canadian, or a French half-breed, just as the partners and clerks of the company were nearly as invariably Scotch. Alexander Ross records a speech by a famous voyageur, which is an interesting revelation of the character of this now vanished type, an odd mixture of boastfulness and courage, improvidence and loyalty, endurance and recklessness and unconquerable good nature:—

“I have now,” said the voyageur, “been forty-two years in this country. For twenty-four I was a light canoeman; I required but little sleep, but sometimes got less than required. No portage was too long for me; all portages were alike. My end of the canoe never touched the ground till I saw the end of it. Fifty songs a day were nothing to me. I could carry, walk, and sing with any man I ever saw. During that period I saved the lives of ten Bourgeois, and was always the favorite, because when others stopped to carry at a bad spot, and lost time, I pushed on—over rapids, over cascades, over chutes; all were the same to me. No water, no weather ever stopped the paddle or the song. I have had twelve wives in the country; and was once possessed of fifty horses, and six running dogs, trimmed in the first style. I was then like a Bourgeois, rich and happy; no Bourgeois had better-dressed wives than I; no Indian chief finer horses; no white man better harnessed or swifter dogs. I beat all Indians at the race, and no white man ever passed me in the chase. I wanted for nothing; and I spent all my earnings in the enjoyment of pleasure. Five hundred pounds, twice told, have passed through my hands; although I now have not a spare shirt to my back, nor a penny to buy one. Yet, were I young, I should glory in commencing the same career again. I would spend another half century in the same way. There is no life so happy as a voyageur’s life; none so

independent; no place where a man enjoys so much variety and freedom as in the Indian country. Huzza! huzza! pour le pays sauvage!"

(Slides showing voyageurs)

The first important stopping place of the fur trader on his way west from Montreal was Michilimackinac—or Mackinaw as it is known to-day—once a very important trading centre on the straits between lakes Huron and Michigan. Jonathan Carver describes this place as it was in 1766. "A fort composed of a strong stockade, usually defended by a garrison of one hundred men. It contains about thirty houses, one of which belongs to the governor, and another to the commissary. Several traders also dwell within its fortifications." In Harmon's day, 1800, the fort had been moved from the mainland to an island about eight miles distant. "The fort," he says, "is built on a beautiful rise of ground, which is joined to the main island by a narrow neck of land. . . . The North West Company have a house and store here." He says that the company built canoes here, for sending into the interior, and down to Montreal. Spirits were sold for six dollars a gallon at Michilimackinac—which Harmon evidently thought an outrageous price.

Alexander Henry, speaking of the old fort on the mainland, says that on the bastions were two small pieces of brass English cannon. It is probable that these guns were part of the plunder of De Troyes and Iberville, when they captured Forts Albany and Hayes, on Hudson bay, in 1686.

The next important stopping place was Fort William, at the upper end of lake Superior. One may note, however, that in passing up St. Marys river to lake Superior, the fur-traders used a small lock and canal at Sault Ste. Marie, built by the North West Company toward the end of the eighteenth century. The diminutive lock was restored a few years ago, and to-day affords a curious contrast to the huge modern locks near it, capable of accommodating great lake freighters with their cargoes of half a million bushels of grain.

As Fort William was for years the principal post of the North West Company, and the scene of that annual gathering of the partners of which Washington Irving has given such a graphic description in *Astoria*, it may be worth while to quote the description of one who knew it in its prime, Ross Cox:—

"Fort William," he says, "is the great emporium for the interior. An extensive assortment of merchandise is annually brought hither from Montreal, by large canoes, or the company's vessels on the lakes, which, in return, bring down the produce of the wintering posts to Canada, from whence it is shipped to England. A number of the partners and clerks, whose turn of rotation has not arrived for going to Montreal, assemble here every summer, and deposit the furs which they purchase during the winter, when they obtain a fresh supply

of trading goods for the ensuing season. Those on their way to Canada also remain some time previous to their final departure. In addition to these, one or two of the principle directors, and several clerks, come up every spring from Montreal to make the necessary changes, and superintend the distribution of the merchandise for the wintering parties. Fort William may, therefore, be looked upon as the metropolitan post of the interior, and its fashionable season generally continues from the latter end of May to the latter end of August. During this period, good living and festivity predominate; and the luxuries of the dinner table compensate in some degree for the long fasts and short commons experienced by those who are stationed in the remote posts. The voyageurs also enjoy their carnival, and between rum and baubles the hard-earned wages of years are often dissipated in a few weeks. . . .

"The dining hall," says Cox, "is a noble apartment, and sufficiently capacious to entertain two hundred. A finely executed bust of the late Simon McTavish is placed in it, with portraits of various proprietors. . . . At the upper end of the hall there is a very large map of the Indian country, drawn with great accuracy by Mr. David Thompson, astronomer to the company." By the way, this famous map, brown with age, is preserved in the Provincial Archives at Toronto.

"The buildings at Fort William," continues Cox, "consist of a large house, in which the dining hall is situated, and in which the gentleman in charge resides; the council-house; a range of snug buildings for the accommodation of the people from the interior; a large counting-house; the doctor's residence; extensive stores for the merchandise and furs; a forge; various workshops, with apartments for the mechanics, a number of whom are always stationed here. There is also a prison for refractory voyageurs. The whole is surrounded by wooden fortifications, flanked by bastions, and is sufficiently strong to withstand any attack from the natives. Outside the fort is a shipyard, in which the company's vessels on the lake are built and repaired. The kitchen-garden is well stocked, and there are extensive fields of Indian corn and potatoes. There are also several head of cattle, with sheep, hogs, poultry, etc., and a few horses for domestic use. . . ."

Leaving this busy centre of the fur trade behind, the brigade of canoes pushes its way to the westward, following the waterways already mentioned, and gradually disintegrating as some of the canoes with their cargoes of trading goods are dropped at one post or another. We may as well follow one of them, and get some idea of the life of a fur-trader at one of those remote forts on the Saskatchewan.

Here is Alexander Ross' description of the landing at a river post:—

"When about to arrive at the place of their destination, the voyageurs dress with neatness, put on their plumes, and a chosen song is raised. They push up against the beach, as if they meant to dash the canoe into splinters; but most adroitly back their paddles at the right moment, whilst the foreman springs on shore and, seizing the prow, arrests the vessel in its course. Every person advances to the waterside and guns are fired to announce the bourgeois' arrival. A general shaking of hands takes place, as it often happens that people have not met for years; even the bourgeois goes through this mode of salutation with the meanest. There is, perhaps, no country where the ties of affection are more binding than here. Each addresses his comrades as his brothers; and all address themselves to the bourgeois with reverence, as if he were their father."

From the journal of another fur trader, in 1799, we get odd glimpses of his daily life. Trading between white man and Indian was a different thing to trade of white with white. There has been a good deal of criticism of the fur-traders, of their injustice to the Indians, their outrageous profits, the use they made of liquor to corrupt the natives. Sometimes these charges were justified, but as a general rule they misrepresent the situation. The evils that did creep into the fur trade were almost entirely due to the fierce rivalry that developed between the competing companies. The use of rum was a case in point. Men like David Thompson refused to have it at their posts on any terms. Others were less scrupulous, if by its use they could steal a march on a competitor. The rum that the Indian got was, in any event, usually one part rum to seven parts water.

Then in judging as to the fairness or otherwise of the fur-trader's profit, it is reasonable to take into account all the conditions. The goods that the trader exchanged for furs came from England in sailing ships to Quebec. There they were transferred to river boats and carried up to Montreal. From Montreal they were sent inland by canoe to some remote trading post. The furs obtained in exchange had to follow the same long, roundabout route to the London market. In the case of some of the most remote posts in the far northwest, it has been estimated that it took six or seven years for the company to get its return on a particular investment in trading goods. The profits were not so extravagant, therefore, as they might appear to be on the surface. And, as far as the Indian was concerned, it must be remembered that the ammunition, tobacco, fishing hooks, needles, and other commodities he purchased from the trader, were much more valuable to him than the skins he gave in exchange. Even so, he very soon learned to drive a shrewd bargain and take advantage of the competition of rival traders.

But to return to the journal of 1799. The system of credit developed in the early days of the fur trade, together with the practice of giving presents to the Indians, both of course designed to encourage them to trade at a particular fort. Thus we find here:—

"Gave credits to the Whitefish's son and *gendre* (son-in-law); they go to their lands, but promise to be back next winter. Gave the Whitefish's son, for nothing, 1 awl, 1 fire steel, 1 gun worm, 3 flints, 1 common belt, 2 horn combs, 1 hook, 1 needle and 34 fathoms rotten tobacco. . . .

"This morning Marlin sent the English Chiefs for ammunition, tobacco, combs and vermilion. Sent him two measures ammunition, $\frac{1}{2}$ fath. tobacco, 1 comb and a little vermilion mixed with flour. They arrived soon after in great pomp, in all 20 men. . . .

"After they paid the most of their credits, amounting to 1,101 skins, Martin was clothed." That is to say, the trader officially recognized this Indian as a chief by presenting him with a ceremonial coat.

"Several harangues suitable to the occasion," continues the journal, "were made on both sides, and the new chief, with his laced coat, stalked along to his lodge, just an hour after sunset. He made many ceremonies before he accepted of the laced coat; he wished to have a red greatcoat, short breeches and cotton stockings, like the English Chief some years ago at the Old Fort; he would not be a petty chief; he aspired to be raised from nothing to the highest pitch of glory. In short, his head was already so intoxicated by his change of fortune, that he did not know which end of him stood upper-most."

(Motion pictures: historical pageant at Fort Kootenay, in 1922)

An important problem at the trading posts was, of course, that of the food supply. Very little could be brought up from Montreal, and each post had to support itself from what could be obtained in the surrounding country. Consequently the daily meals varied at different posts, in quality, quantity and variety. While those at posts on the prairie had generally an abundant supply of buffalo meat, venison and small game, the traders around Lake Superior lived upon whitefish and lake trout, those at Cumberland House on sturgeon, and west of the mountains on salmon.

But the fur-trader, inured to hardships, rarely complained of the quality of his food if the quantity was all right. Sometimes he was hard put to it to keep alive. Buffalo would be nowhere in his neighbourhood, his nets might produce nothing, his supply of pemmican or dried fish be exhausted. Then he had to fall back on the sorry expedients of the starving. Harmon, for instance, writes in his Journal for 1804: "For some time after our arrival, we subsisted on rosebuds, a kind of food neither very palatable nor nourishing, which

we gathered in the fields. They were better than nothing since they would just support life." Elsewhere he says: "For six days we subsisted at the fort on parchment skins, dogs, herbs and a few small fish." Fur-traders as well as explorers, particularly in the far north, sometimes were driven to live for days or even weeks on nothing more nourishing than *tripe de roche*, a peculiarly unpalatable lichen or moss. And yet, as we have abundant evidence, they enjoyed their life, and would not exchange it for one of comfort or even luxury in more civilized communities.

Nor, except at the smaller and more remote establishments, was the life of the fur-trader quite so uncivilized as one might suppose. Fort Chipewyan, for instance, had quite a respectable library; and at all the larger posts the number of white traders, with their wives and families, and the addition of visitors from neighbouring posts, with the occasional appearance of traders on their way down to or up from headquarters, made up a little community sufficient for most social needs. At least that was evidently the opinion of the writer of the following sketch:—

"Even in this barbarous country," he says, "woman claims and enjoys her due share of attention and regard. Her presence brightens the gloom of the solitary post; her smiles add a new charm to the pleasures of the wilderness. Nor are the ladies deficient in those accomplishments which procure admiration. Although descended from aboriginal mothers, many of the females at the different establishments throughout the Indian countries are as fair as the generality of European ladies; the mixture of blood being so many degrees removed from the savage as hardly to leave any trace, while at the same time, their delicacy of form, their light and nimble movements, and the penetrating expression of the 'bright, black eye' combine to render them objects of no ordinary interest. They have also made considerable progress in refinement, and, with their natural acuteness and singular talent for imitation, they soon acquire all the ease and gracefulness of polished life. On holidays the dresses are as gay as in longer settled countries; and on these occasions the gentleman puts on the beaver hat, the ladies make a fine show of silks and satins, and even jewellery is not wanting. It is not surprising, therefore, that the roving North Wester, after so many rural enjoyments, and a residence of twenty years, should feel more real happiness in these scenes than he can hope for in any other country."

To the fur-traders' articles of subsistence should perhaps have been added his two indispensable luxuries—tea and tobacco, both of which he liked strong. The tobacco came in long twists or ropes, and in commerce was sold by the fathom. Possibly also sufficient emphasis has not been put upon the importance of pemmican in the fur-trader's bill of fare. It was his daily bread, his staff of life.

Made from the lean meat, usually of buffalo, dried and pounded fine, mixed with melted fat, sometimes with the addition of sugar or dried berries, it was packed tightly into skin bags, and, unless exposed to moisture, would keep for years. The trader always took a supply with him on his excursions, and always tried to keep a reserve in his post for a hungry day. It was one of the most important duties of the posts in the prairie country to prepare large quantities of pemmican, which was distributed among the posts remote from the range of the buffalo, or where such substitutes as deer, bear, moose or cariboo were not readily obtainable.

(Slides: animal life)

This responsibility of the prairie traders made the hunting of the buffalo a matter of duty as well as pleasure. To secure a sufficient supply of fresh meat for their own posts, and pemmican for the various establishments dependent upon them, they could not always depend upon hunting the buffalo on their fleet ponies, but resorted also to an old contrivance of the Indians called buffalo pounds. These consisted of two long lines of fences, or bushes, converging to a gateway leading into a circular enclosure. A herd of buffalo was driven down between the fences, and when they were all in the enclosure, the entrance was blocked, and the traders then shot them at their leisure. Among the Indians the practice was more ceremonial. After the herd had entered the enclosure, the principal chief would light his pipe, and, pointing it at an ancient bull that he considered to be the father or chief of the herd, would harangue him something to this effect: "My Grandfather, we are glad to see you, and happy to find that you are not come in a shameful manner, for you have brought plenty of your young men with you. Be not angry with us, we are obliged to destroy you to make ourselves live."

(The buffalo: slides and motion pictures)

Only a few words more. I have attempted to tell the story of the western fur trade, under the North West Company, mainly by means of quotations from contemporary narratives. Of course it has only been possible to touch upon a very few of the many aspects of the subject. The story of the fur trade is full of romantic incidents, dramatic moments, as well as of interludes that, while prosaic, are of interest to the student of history, of commerce, of ethnology, of natural history. In the actual skeleton lecture these other sides of the story would as far as possible or expedient be represented by references to reliable authorities.

So far as the history of the North West Company is concerned as a distinct organization, it came to an end in 1821 with the fusion of the two organizations, the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company. Thereafter the fur trade took on a different charac-

ter, became more modern, more business like, perhaps more efficient, under the skilful guidance of Sir George Simpson. Certainly after 1821, much of the romance of the old life of the fur trader disappeared, that romance that was so appropriately illustrated in the annual meetings at Fort William. And so we may say, with Washington Irving: "The feudal state of Fort William is at an end; its council chamber is silent and desolate; its banquet hall no longer echoes to the auld world ditty; the lords of the lakes and forests have passed away."

(Canoe and dance songs by French-Canadian voyageurs—Trefflé Bigras and family, from Gatineau Point, Wright Co., P.Q.).

FRANCIS PARKMAN

BY

BASIL WILLIAMS¹

The United States can claim, during the century and a half of its existence, four historians who rank among the notable historians of modern times: Bancroft, Prescott, Motley and Parkman; and of these certainly not the least is the subject of this address to-night—Francis Parkman. It is most fitting that the Canadian Historical Association, at the meeting to inaugurate its new title and its more catholic activities, should devote a few minutes of its time to celebrate the centenary of Parkman's birth. And this for two reasons. In the first place a great historian is not the peculiar possession of any one country, he is the possession of the world, and the true historical student will profit from the great historian's researches and his mastery, be he English, French, Italian, German or Canadian; hence any company of learned historians, such as I now have the privilege of addressing, would naturally wish to do honour to one who has enlightened, as Parkman has enlightened, any part of our great heritage of the past. But there is a second, even more special reason why we should honour this centenary. Though not a Canadian himself, Parkman is pre-eminently the historian of Canada. Others no doubt have written histories of merit about this country, or have explored with industry and insight isolated aspects of its past; but no one has made the face of the country familiar, made living the struggles of our forefathers of both races against the forces of nature and of savage humanity, or awakened the national pride and sense of romance in the country and its history as Parkman has done in his great series. The tribute we owe him, therefore, is not merely to the great historian but also to the maker of Canada. For he may be hailed a maker of Canada in just as real a sense as we give that title to the great men of action that he for the first time revealed, in the splendour of their achievements, to Canadians and the world. Indeed those who, like Parkman, follow the precept, "Let us, therefore, praise famous men and our Fathers who begot us," inspire later generations to noble action hardly less than the famous men themselves.

Had Parkman succeeded even less completely than he did in his self-imposed task of recounting the struggle between England and France for the mastery of North America, his life and his methods of work would have been worth remembering as an example to historians and indeed to all scholars. Making up his mind as early as his college days what should be the subject of his life-work, he devoted himself thenceforward solely to preparing himself for

¹ Address delivered on the evening of May the 24th in the Auditorium of the Victoria Museum.



Francis Parkman

that work and to carrying it out with the same single-minded devotion as any cloistered saint or paladin of old undertook his life of service. It is remarkable that two of the band of American historians who illumined their country's literature during that great period of material, mental and spiritual development between the reign of Andrew Jackson and the end of the Civil War, two of these men, Prescott and Parkman, worked under physical disabilities that would have daunted men of less determined stamp. Prescott was nearly blind and with him reading was always difficult and often impossible; yet his works are a proof of the spirit with which he overcame his difficulties. Parkman's case was even worse. Added to sight so bad that he rarely could read for more than five minutes at a time, he had a mysterious nervous complaint which forbade concentration of his mind for periods appreciably longer. Indeed for some ten years of the prime of his life his general state of health was so desperate that he had almost entirely to abandon his literary labours. Between 1851 and 1865 he published nothing relating to his main theme. During this dark period, however, his energetic spirit did not allow him to remain idle, and he devoted himself to gardening, perhaps the only pursuit of which his ailing faculties were then capable. It is characteristic of him, too, that in this by-product of his energy he attained so much success that he became noted for his flowers, and he even held the chair of horticulture for a short time at his dearly loved university of Harvard.

From 1865, when by dint of carefully husbanding his faculties he was able once more to turn to the great work he had set himself to accomplish, till the very eve of his death in 1893, he went on steadily working. At intervals of from two to seven years he published seven parts of his *France and England in North America*, the concluding portion on the Conspiracy of Pontiac having been published first in 1851. By that time he had carried out his task, but still under almost incredible disadvantages. Nearly all the immense mass of material that he had to assimilate for his purpose had to be read out to him by devoted helpers, since he could not trust his eyesight for any prolonged spell of reading. For the actual work of composition he partly dictated his work, partly by an ingenious "gridiron" he had contrived he was able to write for short periods without hurting his eyes by looking at the paper. To any one who has attempted historical work requiring much research, such as Parkman required and undertook for his books, the prodigious effort of memory and still more of concentrated will needed for any sort of work under such circumstances will be perhaps faintly intelligible; but when the result of Parkman's labours with all these disadvantages is seen in the finished and well-rounded volumes of his series, the effort seems little short of marvellous. He himself, in one of his autobiographical letters, says—and we may well believe

him—"Taking the last forty years as a whole, the capacity of literary work, which during that time has fallen to my share, has, I am confident, been considerably less than a fourth part of what it would have been under normal conditions."

So much it is only fitting that one should say with regard to Parkman's special difficulties, difficulties which would make his persistence and ultimate triumph remarkable in any walk of life. This aspect of his career is an inspiration and example to us all, whatever may be our special pursuit; for, though few of us fortunately labour under the extraordinary difficulties he met so courageously, yet we all have our crosses which at times seem to make the goal unattainable, and it is just the memory of such valiant struggles against odds as fell to Parkman's lot that gives us courage to fight against lesser difficulties, maybe, and hope that stern endeavour will overcome them.

With these brief words on Parkman the man, I now turn to him as the historian, and shall attempt to see what lessons we can draw from his methods, and what judgment we should form as to the value of his accomplished work.

As to his methods: First and foremost he formed at the outset a very clear idea of what he wanted to say. At an early age, he tells us in his autobiographical sketch, he "became enamoured of the woods," the woods of his continent and all that they meant in the early history of European adventure and discovery. At the age of eighteen his fixed intention was to write the "forest drama," as he calls it, which came to its culmination in the great war resulting in the conquest of Canada. To do this effectively he realized he would have to trace back the earliest attempts of colonization by the French and their relations with the denizens of the American forest—all the wild tribes of the woods with whom they came in contact. "My theme fascinated me," he writes, "and I was haunted with wilderness images day and night." But though the romance of the woods had gripped him, he at once saw that vague images coming to him in day-dreams and at night would not enable him to write history. He must have as his basis, not only the solid facts acquired by research in records, but still more those acquired by personal experience, of the kind that would "identify him with his theme." This experience he sought perhaps in more whole-hearted fashion than any other historian has sought it since Herodotus's day. In his college vacations he used to go wandering about the hills and forests of New England, still in parts much as they might have been when the Abenakis roamed and hunted among them. He explored thoroughly all the country which he described in his *Conspiracy of Pontiac*. Once he carefully traced the course of Abercromby's force as it went up from Albany on its ill-fated mission to Fort Ticonderoga, and thence down lake Champlain

by the route along which Montcalm had brought his men to victory, a journey of which we see the fruits in that wonderful description of the British flotilla sailing down lake George and in the loving record of the noble Howe's last talks on the bearskin with the great colonial ranger Stark. Later, when he has left college, he undertook the arduous journey which he has recounted in the *Oregon Trail*. Realising that the wild life of the pioneer on the prairie would soon be a thing of the past, that the tracks through the forest-lands of the continent would be obliterated with the forests through which they led, that the great buffalo herds would within a comparatively short time be almost extinct, and that the few remaining tribes of Indians would not much longer retain their wild flavour—in short that all that was most characteristic of North America in the days of which he proposed to write was bound even in his lifetime to disappear;—realizing all this, he determined to see it all and live the life of the pioneer for himself while there was yet time. He was ailing when he started and no doubt made his nervous malady permanent by the hardships he underwent in his determination to carry the experiment through; but he did what he had set out to do. He was able to experience, as far as anybody could in his age, what the pioneers of New France and New England had gone through. He “hunted the buffalo on horseback, over a broken country, when without the tonic of the chase he could scarcely sit upright in the saddle.” For five days he followed the trail of a tribe of Ogillallah Indians, and having caught them up after tremendous exertions, accompanied them in their wanderings for several weeks, so as to catch some faint idea of what his early Jesuit missionaries must have experienced in their endeavours to reclaim similar tribes to their Master's fold. Then, as if this was not enough, he must try, while in Rome, to catch something of the spiritual exaltation of those devoted missionaries by getting leave to spend some days in a cell of the Passionist Fathers' convent.

All these exertions and all these experiences he went through not merely in order to study what he would have to describe, but also from the belief that the historian should not be just the “pale student, glued to his desk, . . . whose natural fruit is that pallid and emasculate scholarship of which New England,” as he puts it, “has had too many examples,” but one who, having to write of vigorous life, should have tasted all the joys and hardships of vigorous life in his own person. “For the student,” to quote his own words again, “there is, in its season, no better place than the saddle, and no better companion than the rifle or the oar.” Indeed, when you come to look at the careers of most of the great historians of the world, Herodotus, Thucydides, Tacitus, and in later times Gibbon, Macaulay, you will find that much of their power comes from the fact that they were men of action in politics or in the field as well as students: for as a

French statesman, and no mean historian, has said, "Ecrire l'histoire, c'est agir, et c'est pourquoi il convient que l'historien soit homme d'action."

But because he saw something more than literary research in the historian's equipment, Parkman was no mere amateur who thought that vaguely picturesque writing could take the place of solid learning. What physical obstacles there were to his studying in archives and reading the crabbed handwriting of 16th and 17th century documents I have already indicated. Fortunately he had ample means wherewith to hire copyists; he had devoted relatives who served him with their eyes and hands. Above all he had that zeal for exact knowledge and that determination to acquire it that overcame all material obstacles. He had an extraordinary flair for discovering recondite manuscripts in their most obscure recesses and with it a quiet and tactful persistence which invariably enabled him to persuade their owners to let him extract from them what he needed. In the tales that can be told about the unearthing of missing authorities few could be more romantic than those of Parkman's success in getting sight of material for his *La Salle* and *Montcalm and Wolfe*. The *La Salle MSS.* had been discovered by a French friend of Parkman's who refused to let any eye but his own see them, unless his heavy expenses of publishing them were assured to him. In order to secure that they should be made available to himself and the world, Parkman actually induced Congress to pay for their publication, and so secured for his account of the Mississippi adventure that richness of detail it possesses. Another precious collection of letters from Montcalm to Bourlamaque had been known to exist in France, but had been sold and, since their sale, had been entirely lost to view. To make matters worse, the names neither of seller nor of purchaser could be traced. Parkman, however, with hardly any clue to guide him, pursued his investigations like a slueth-hound, until he finally tracked them over from France to the Phillips collection in England, and was rewarded by permission to have copies taken of them.

These two incidents are characteristic of his methods of preparation for his work. In some respects indeed he reminds one of the actors who would not play the part of Othello without blacking his body all over, so exhaustive was he in his verification of the minutest points. When he has to speak of the influence of France on the history of her colony, he is not content to accept the ordinary views of French history, but he must needs make the French history of the period his own by independent researches. So it is with regard to everything related in his books. The specialist of today may perchance discover new material which may throw a different light on some of Parkman's versions of the facts, and of course everybody does not accept his judgments; but probably there are hardly any

statements of fact related by Parkman which could have been proved false from material available in his day.

Now to come to the finished product. What judgment are we to pronounce upon it? The first impression, I think, which the reader has is that his work is the work of a story-teller, not of an erudite and scholarly historian, as we have seen Parkman was. The narrative flows with so much ease, each volume forms so finished a tale in itself that one is apt to feel that it is more like some romance spun from the brain of an imaginative writer than a work of erudition representing the labour of years. If that is so, it is the highest tribute that Parkman could have wished to be paid him, for it is exactly the effect he strove to attain. He believed that history should not be a series of lucubrations intended solely for the student's shelf, but a joyous, living story, to appeal to the common man and cause him almost insensibly to realize the lessons of the past. Once, when he was reproached for criticizing a historian for taking too dignified a view of history, he replied, "Damn the dignity of history; straws are often the best material." The fact was that Parkman thought no toil, however great and prolonged, could be excessive for the writer of history in his search after the most scrupulous accuracy, but that in the finished product the least sign of this *limae labor* was an impertinent intrusion on the reader, as distracting from his attention on the main object, a representation of the past.

The most formidable criticism made against Parkman's work, both in his own lifetime and since, is that he is not fair in his presentation of the French régime in Canada and notably in his view of the Jesuits and the activity of the Roman Catholic Church generally. This criticism was strongly put forward by Parkman's contemporary and friend, the Abbé Casgrain, himself a noted writer on early Canadian history, and it was the reason why the University of Laval refused to honour him with the degree, which it was reserved for my University to grant him. Now I think it cannot be denied that Parkman had a strong prejudice against the policy of the Jesuits and also against the general system of administration in French Canada, and that he took no pains to conceal this prejudice. The savour indeed of his volume comes out very strongly in his *obiter dicta* on these matters. But in forming a judgment on this criticism we must distinguish between the facts as set forth by the chronicler and the opinions he expresses on these facts. To me it seems that in the presentation of the facts Parkman is so just and fair that he gives every opportunity to those who disagree with his point of view to form conclusions different from his own. Some writers with violent prejudices are so overcome with zeal in their cause that, whether wittingly or unconsciously, they are apt to overlook facts that militate against their preconceived opinions. But this can never

be said of Parkman. He always quite fairly gives the facts upon which anyone, with different preconceptions to his own, is at liberty to arrive at an exactly opposite conclusion. Thus in his great book on *The Jesuits in North America*, though with all his admiration for the early Jesuit missionaries he cannot restrain the expression of his contempt for many of the chief objects of their devotion, yet throughout he provides the most ardent Catholic with material for sustaining a judgment more in harmony with Catholic teaching. Personally, though I agree with Parkman's conclusions in the main, I feel often that he weakens his own case by a certain hardness of vision and want of sympathy with the exaltation of the religious enthusiast. I can understand, for example, a devout Catholic objecting to the conclusion of one of his most moving chapters: "When we see them entering, one after another, these wretched abodes of misery and darkness, and all for one sole end, the baptism of the sick and dying, *we may smile at the futility of the object*, but we must needs admire the self-sacrificing zeal with which it was pursued." If I felt secure enough in my own faith, I should not reject the history for that reason, because I should feel that the object was not futile, and that all the facts which Parkman so movingly relates only add to the glory of these heroic missionaries and of the faith that inspired them. It is my strong belief that you cannot get an historian worth reading who has not got prejudices of some sort; sometimes, as in the case of Carlyle, very violent prejudices; but if, as with Parkman, you get that fairness and scholarly accuracy in setting forth the facts, you also have in his books the antidote, if you wish it, to these very prejudices. And after all you will generally find that from the strength of the great writer's opinions, or even prejudices, comes the inspiration that makes his work live.

A more just criticism which, to my thinking, one might make on Parkman's work is that it suffers somewhat as a whole by its disjointed form of composition. He composed the last volume of the series long before he had begun the others; and *Montcalm and Wolfe* was produced before its predecessor in chronological order. The consequence is that there is a certain overlapping of interest in the volumes and the whole chain of events is not so clearly exposed as it might have been by a more systematic method. Indeed, with all Parkman's great merits, you do miss in him something of that majestic sweep over the whole period, which you find in the very greatest historians.

This defect, such as it is, is no doubt partly due to the enormous physical difficulties from which Parkman suffered, but still more to Parkman's dramatic instinct in seizing some central figure or movement round which to group all he had to say in each volume. He groaned, for example, a good deal over his last-written volume,

A Half-Century of Conflict, as he could find no striking incident or personality on which to focus interest, and put off writing it till he had finished what he cared for much more. But if we look at his work as a whole, this is a comparatively small matter, since no one can deny that essentially Parkman has succeeded in giving a gallery of the most vigorous and living pictures yet produced of Canada, from its discovery till its conquest by the English.

And what pictures they are! You know the rivers, the lakes, the forests, the clearings, the tracks and the portages and the rapids, the mission-stations and the settlements of the early days as if you had actually seen them yourself. I once had to get up the topography of Quebec for my own purposes, and in doing so relied largely on Parkman. I remember that subsequently, when I first sailed up the St. Lawrence and came in view of the Montmorency falls, the St. Charles river and the great bluff of Quebec itself, it all seemed perfectly familiar ground to me, so vivid had been the impression given to me in Parkman's loving descriptions. And the men and women who live through his pages! Sometimes a mere sketch of a few lines—such the sketches of some of those early Jesuit Fathers, or of Jeanne Mance, or of Marie de l'Incarnation—leaves an indelible impression on your mind. Sometimes the more finished pictures, La Salle, Frontenac, Wolfe, Montcalm, stand out before you as if they were dear living men you have known in the flesh. And the unforgettable scenes he paints of the life and adventures in those early days! His Frontenac, the *grand seigneur*, suddenly seizing the hatchet at a pow-wow of his fierce Indian allies, brandishing it, and, with wild whoops, dancing the war dance with never a loss of his dignity and mastery! Or take perhaps the most beautiful of all his pictures, that of the birth-night of Montreal:—

“Maissonneuve sprang ashore and fell on his knees. His followers imitated his example; and all joined their voices in enthusiastic songs of thanksgiving. Tents, baggage, arms and stores were landed. An altar was raised on a pleasant spot near at hand; and Mdlle. Mance, with Mme. de la Peltrie, aided by her servant, Charlotte Barré, decorated it with a taste which was the admiration of the beholders. Now all the company gathered before the shrine. Here stood Vimont, in the rich vestments of his office. Here were the two ladies, with their servants; Montmagny, no very willing spectator; and Maissonneuve, a warlike figure, erect and tall, his men clustering around him—soldiers, sailors, artisans, and labourers—all alike soldiers at need. They kneeled in reverent silence as the Host was raised aloft; and when the rite was over, the priest turned and addressed them:—

‘You are a grain of mustard seed, that shall rise and grow till its branches overshadow the earth. You are few, but your

work is the work of God. His smile is on you and your children shall fill the land.'

"The afternoon waned; the sun sank behind the western forest, and twilight came on. Fireflies were twinkling over the darkened meadow. They caught them, tied them with threads into shining festoons and hung them before the altar, where the Host remained exposed. Then they pitched their tents, lighted their bivouac fires, stationed their guards, and lay down to rest. Such was the birth-night of Montreal."

Is this true history, or a romance of Christian chivalry? It is both.

Such are the pictures that will live as long as Canada is a country, or as long as noble deeds are counted worthy of remembrance. Noble deeds of endurance and self-sacrifice for a cause that seems worthy to the doer, these are the aspects of our history which attracted Parkman to his tale, and these are what chiefly make his series memorable. For, simple and limpid as his narrative always seems, there is a brave philosophy of life underlying it; and you will find that the quality which wins his highest praise and on which he dwells most willingly, is *Manliness*—the manliness which has made whatever is best in Canada, and which, as long as her sons possess it, will make her a greater country yet.

THE SPANISH DISCOVERY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA IN 1774

BY

F. W. HOWAY

In the eighteenth century Spain dreamed of world domination. One of the bases of this dream was the Pacific ocean, of which at that time vast portions lying both north and south of the equator were unexplored. The great island groups of the South sea were then unknown. The Philippine Islands were a Spanish possession and the coast of America, north of San Blas, was only regarded as useful in so far as it might afford some shelter or harbour of refuge for the richly-laden galleons in their voyages from those islands.

The old belief in a northwest passage remained a fundamental tenet of geography; but Spain's interest therein was more in preventing, than in aiding, its discovery. In the Spanish view no other nation had or could have any possessions in the Pacific ocean, which was regarded as a *mare clausum*, and hence such nations could have no reason for visiting or frequenting that immense ocean. This position was, in part at any rate, built upon the Papal Bull of Alexander VI and on the subsequent Treaty of Tordesillas. In consequence Spain looked with a jealous eye upon the western movement and vision of the seamen of England and of every other nation. At first that feeling was in combination with one of fear, for the buccaneers looted and plundered on the South American coast and thought the seizure and pillage of a Spanish galleon from Manila a fine way of singeing the Don's beard and, incidentally, of proving the virility of the reformed religion. But even after these freebooters had passed off the stage, Spain's jealousy remained in its pristine vigor and was directed against any and every country that sought to voyage to or carry on trade with any part of the Pacific ocean.

In 1774 Juan Perez was sent northward from Mexico on an expedition of discovery. This was the first voyage undertaken in that direction by the Spaniards since the days of Viscaino, one hundred and seventy years before. The underlying motive was jealousy of the Russians who from the days of Bering and Chirikof had been looking longingly across the isle-strewn Aleutian waters towards the new world. The *promyshleniki* had led the way in their crazy, thong-woven craft, lured by the search for the sea-otter—the animal which played the part on the coast that the beaver had in the interior of the continent. Reports of the Russian movement eastward had reached Spain; and it was known that already settlements for trade were being made in Alaska. How far southward they had extended and what the Russian intentions were in that regard were unknown, but at any rate here was a danger threatening the age-old policy of Spain. At that time San Francisco, which had been founded in

1769, marked the most northerly point of actual Spanish possession. When Percz prepared the plan of his proposed voyage, in 1773, he suggested falling in with the coast in latitude 45° or 50° ; but as this was allowing the Russians too great leeway, peremptory instructions were issued to him to make his landfall at about 60° and take possession for Spain. Perez, as is well-known, failed to reach the designated latitude. His most northerly position was in Dixon entrance, about latitude $54^{\circ} 40'$, and he never landed nor took possession anywhere.

The foolish policy of secrecy which shrouded all of Spain's activities on this coast has robbed Juan Perez of his rightful position as the discoverer of British Columbia. The accounts of his voyage, prepared by the two friars, Crespi and Peña, who accompanied the expedition partly for this purpose, were carefully copied and transmitted to Spain and then as carefully laid away in the archives where they remained for almost one hundred and twenty years. They were published in original and in translation, by the Historical Society of Southern California, in 1891, and are already amongst the scarce and rare Americana.

It is the purpose of this paper merely to summarize the information contained in these journals so far as it relates to the British Columbian coast. When he was preparing his History of the North West Coast, Bancroft had only fragments of them. Inasmuch as they give the very first information about our Indians and our western coast they are worthy of attention even though somewhat belated in their arrival. The diary of Father Crespi is the more full; this may be accounted for by the fact that he had lived in the vicinity of San Francisco amongst the natives there, and thus his eye was the keener to notice slight differences.

On June 11, 1774, Juan Perez set sail from Monterey, in the *Santiago*. Slowly the little vessel made her way northward. Three and four miles an hour, and sometimes even less, are frequently recorded. So slow was her progress that on July 15th, when in latitude $51^{\circ} 42'$, a council was held, and it was determined to seek land immediately in order to renew the water supply, and then to continue the voyage to the latitude of 60° mentioned in the instructions. The following day a great wooden cross was prepared, so as to be ready for planting when possession should be taken. Fog settled down as the *Santiago* approached the coast—all the early voyagers emphasize the constant fogs in this vicinity. On the 18th it cleared and the snow-capped summits of mount San Christobal were seen about twenty leagues distant. Standing along the western coast of Queen Charlotte Islands, North island, the most northerly of the group, was sighted on the twentieth of July. Bonfires were seen on the shore. Both of the fathers complain of the fog though they say that they

could see fully three leagues. The natives also saw the ship and came out in their canoes, which Father Crespi says, were much like those "used by the natives of the channel of Santa Barbara, except that the bow and stern are not spread out like a fan." In exchange for strings of beads they gave the visitors dried fish. This was probably halibut, for, as Crespi tells us, it seemed to be cod although it was whiter.

As the canoes approached the *Santiago*, Crespi says he knew that the people were pagans for the air they sang was the same as that sung at the dances of the pagans from San Diego to Monterey. They threw feathers upon the sea, as a sign of friendship, just as Cook records of the Indians at Nootka four years later. From the description of the locality it may be concluded that these Indians came from Parry passage, or Cloak bay, as Dixon called it fourteen years later. Pena states that the men were well made, white, with long hair, and clothed in skins. He only mentions that they had iron implements in their canoes; Crespi however, adds that one of their harpoons was of iron and resembled a boarding-pike. This raises the interesting question: where was this iron obtained? The late S. A. Clarke seriously suggested that the Indians knew the art of smelting. That, of course, is utter nonsense. It may have been obtained from neighbouring tribes who had received it in trade (or by theft) from the Russians at Kodiak a thousand miles away, or, indirectly, from the Hudson's Bay Company or the French traders of the interior two or three thousand miles distant. If both these sources are regarded as too chimerical, we are thrown back on a shipwreck, which is the explanation offered by Captain Cook for his finding iron and the knowledge of iron in many of the islands discovered by him in the Pacific (see his *Third Voyage*, vol. 2, pp. 194, 240-3). Bancroft, in his History of Alaska, states on the authority of Maurelle's manuscript, *Compendio de Noticias*, that an old bayonet and pieces of other iron implements were seen amongst them, which the pilot conjectured must have belonged to the boat's crew lost in 1741 by Chirikof's vessel somewhere in these latitudes.

The Indians remained around the *Santiago* until the vessel was eight leagues from shore; then, even though a high sea was running, they set off for their homes. The Spaniards, fearing the fog and the currents of the unknown region, stood off during the night, and on the following morning, July 21, reapproached North island "in order to plant there the standard of the holy cross." Being within a mile and a half of the shore the ship was this day surrounded by about twenty-one canoes carrying some two hundred persons—men and women, boys and girls. Though they had never seen a civilized person before, the Indians, says Crespi, came alongside without the least distrust, beating their tom-toms, and making movements like

dancing. They brought to exchange: skins of the sea-otter, very well tanned and dressed; cloaks of sea-otter skins—the cutsarks of the later traders—sewn as neatly as any tailor could do; blankets of fine wool, about a yard and a half square, or as Crespi says, of the hair of animals that seemed like wool. This was probably the wool of the mountain goat, inasmuch as it is not known that the strange fleece-bearing dog had reached so far north. These blankets were ornamented with different colours, red, yellow, and black, and the weaving was so close that it seemed to have been done in a loom. These blankets must have been of the Chilkat type. They also brought mats made of cedar bark, which Crespi calls “fine palm leaves;” bunches of feathers arranged in various shapes; caps made of skins; cedar bark hats of conical shape, such as Cook describes at Nootka; wooden bowls ornamented with figures of men, animals, and birds incised or in relief; spoons of wood and of horn; and neatly made cedar boxes; some of which were almost nine feet in length, sewed with sinews at the corners, and carved or painted with various figures in the usual colours, red, yellow, and black. These they traded for ribbons, old clothing, knives, and beads. Iron articles were preferred, especially knives, and any form that had a cutting edge.

These people were clothed in skins or in a cape of woven woolen stuff covering the whole body. Their hair was long, and it fell in braids that reached to the shoulders. The friars state that the females were “as fair and rosy as any Spanish woman.” Captain Cook bears witness to the same effect, speaking of the natives of Nootka Sound he says: “The whiteness of the skin appeared almost to equal that of Europeans; though rather of that pale effete cast which distinguishes those of our southern natives. Their children, whose skins had never been stained with paint, also equalled ours in whiteness.” Dixon, speaking of the Haidas of Queen Charlotte islands, says: “If I may judge from the few people I saw tolerably clean, these Indians are very little darker than the Europeans in general.”

The women wore rings on their fingers, and bracelets of copper and iron; but they were disfigured by that strange feminine adornment, the labret, or staie. Father Crespi thus refers to it: “They wear pendent from the lower lip, which is pierced, a disk painted in colours, which appeared to be of wood, slight and curved, which makes them seem very ugly and at a little distance they appear as if the tongue was hanging out of the mouth. Easily, and with only a movement of the lip, they raise it so that it covers the mouth and part of the nose. Those of our people who saw them from a short distance said that a hole was pierced in the lower lip and the disk hung therefrom. We do not know the object of this; whether it be done to make themselves ugly, as some think; or for purpose of

ornament. I incline to the latter opinion; for, among the heathen found from San Diego to Monterey, we have noted that, when they go to visit a neighbouring village, they paint themselves in such a manner as to make themselves most ugly."

Two of the natives were induced to come on board the vessel and in exchange two sailors ventured into the canoes. The Indians, we are told, took pleasure in painting them with red ochre of a fine tint.

For about four days the slow-sailing *Santiago* strove, unsuccessfully to enter Dixon entrance. Sometimes the Spaniards were within a mile or so of the shore, and though frequently invited to land no steps were taken to launch a boat for that purpose. Day by day the friars record head winds, fog, and strong currents. In their fear of striking upon the ironbound coast they got so far out to sea that on July 24, Crespi writes: "Although since six in the morning until afternoon we had made four miles an hour we could not make out the land, and this although the horizon was very clear." Gradually the *Santiago* edged southward, still in hopes of finding some safe place where she might anchor. Each day saw her further from Dixon entrance; and thus she made her way slowly down the west coast of Queen Charlotte islands, always keeping at the distance of six or seven leagues from the shore.

The journals tell us of North cape, or cape Knox; of cape Muzon on the Alaskan side; of Dixon entrance, with its strong currents, and which they estimate to be sixteen leagues in width; of Forrester Island, lying west of cape Muzon; of the general north-west and south-east trend of Queen Charlotte islands; and of the high mountain range of San Christobal.

Regarding the origin of the Indians, a debated question ever since their day, the friars record that Juan Perez, who had spent some time in China and the Philippine islands, remarked their resemblance to the Sangleyes of those islands. The woven mats, they remark on his authority, were very similar to those of China.

Fog, so thick that they could not see the ship's length, came upon them on August 3, as they pursued their southward course. At mid-day the weather cleared and an observation gave them $49^{\circ} 24'$. Again thick fog settled upon them. So from day to day the entries show heavy winds, high seas and dense fog. On August 6, it cleared and they saw land, high and snow-crowned, at a great distance. The latitude was then 48° . This was the civilized man's first glimpse of the majestic Olympic range in the state of Washington. The currents now carried the *Santiago* northward; and on August 8, they again sighted land in $49^{\circ} 05'$, at a distance of about four leagues. As they drew near three small canoes came out from the shore and by gestures and signs warned them to depart.

Late that afternoon they finally anchored in a C-shaped roadstead about a league from the land. They named the spot San

Lorenzo. It has been identified from their descriptions and from Indian legend as being immediately northward of cape Estevan, the southern point of Captain Cook's Hope bay, and a few miles from the entrance of Nootka sound. Three canoes again came out and hovered around the vessel, always at about the distance of a musket shot. The Spaniards strove in vain to induce them to approach, but the occupants remained for about three hours at that safe distance constantly crying out in mournful tones. Then, no doubt feeling that they had done their duty, they departed.

The next morning some fifteen canoes, containing about one hundred men and but very few women cautiously approached the *Santiago*. Trade commenced. The Indians offered principally sea-otter skins, conical hats made of reeds, and cloth "woven of a material very like hemp," as the fathers call it, but which was in reality cedar bark. For these they accepted clothing, ribbons, and shells from the beach at Monterey. Here again "some pieces of iron and of copper and knives were seen in their possession." No cloth woven of wool or hair, such as had been observed at Queen Charlotte islands, was noticed. The natives, the fathers unite in declaring, were not as stalwart as those of Dixon entrance, nor were they as well clad. The fathers also remark that none of the women were disfigured with the hideous labret.

The long boat was launched to plant the cross and take possession; but hardly had she started on her errand when a heavy westerly gale arose. Fearful of being driven on a leeshore, Juan Perez hastily cut his cable and ran for the open sea, leaving the long boat to follow. Having rounded the point of rocks at cape Estevan and reached out three leagues into the ocean the *Santiago* lay-to and awaited the return of the long boat. It was only with much difficulty that it and its occupants were safely got on board. The fathers give no information regarding the fate of the cross; nor do we learn anything about their having obtained any water, which was the ostensible reason for attempting to make land more than a fortnight before. The Spaniards then turned the vessel's prow southward once more. The little *Santiago* stretched away for San Blas; and we could follow her no further.

It may be well to give in this connection the Indian tradition of the arrival of the Spaniards as recorded by Father Brabant, who was for many years a missionary on the west coast of Vancouver Island. "The vessel was seen far at sea from the Indian village known as Oum-mis, near what is now shown on the chart as Hole-in-the-wall. On first sighting her the Indians thought it was an immense bird, but when she came nearer and they could see people on board, the Indians thought that the vessel was some wonderful and very large canoe come back from the land of the dead with their by-gone chiefs. At

last the vessel came close to the shore, when the Indians found they were not their dead chiefs but entire strangers in colour and appearance. The Indians traded with them, and they gave the Indians iron and other articles for furs. The vessel stayed but a very short time."

It is strange that though Captain James Cook arrived at Nootka within four years thereafter and stayed for about a month, he did not learn of this Spanish visit. During that time he was constantly in touch with them, and he has left us a complete account of their habitations, implements, manners, and customs. He then obtained two silver spoons which are said to have been stolen from the Spaniards at this time. Here again we face a mystery. In none of the four accounts of the *Santiago's* voyage is there any mention of these spoons—all the printed information comes from Captain Cook. But in the manuscript journal of Martinez, to which I have already referred, the author claims to have given these spoons in the barter. It is quite unlikely that silver spoons in use on the commander's table would have been allowed to be bartered by the pilot. Cook's suggestion that they had been stolen is far more plausible. But Martinez in his journal goes on to say that in 1789 Maquinna, the chief of Nootka, recognized him as having been at Nootka in the *Santiago* fifteen years previous. Unfortunately for this story the landfall of the *Santiago* was miles distant from Friendly Cove, Maquinna's summer village; and there is no reference to him or any chief in any of the contemporary accounts. Over and above all, Maquinna never mentioned the Spaniards or Martinez so far as any of the four existing accounts of Cook's voyage shows.

All of these things seem to point to the conclusion that if Spain herself was blind to the interests of her navigators, some of them, like Martinez, were fully alive on the matter. They were prepared to claim even more than their real achievements, and were not above bolstering up their deeds by false assertions.

In the records of the voyage of the *Santiago*—and there are no less than four—no mention is made regarding the entrance we now know as the strait of Fuca. Hence we might conclude not unnaturally that that waterway was not seen by the Spaniards on this occasion. And thus we would feel buttressed by this negative induction in the opinion that Captain Barkley, of the *Imperial Eagle*, was in 1788 the first person to see the supposed strait of Juan de Fuca. But Martinez, the pilot on the *Santiago*, has seen fit to claim in his manuscript journal of 1789 that he saw this strait from the deck of the *Santiago*. As he first makes this statement after the fact of the strait's existence was well-known and after his seizure of Indian vessels had rearoused their ancient animosities, also having in mind his ever-present desire to belittle all things English, we may conclude that his memory has been eked out of his imagination.

LAFONTAINE, ROLPH ET PAPINEAU

Episodes de 1838 et de 1843

PAR

MONTARVILLE BOUCHER DE LABRUÈRE

Le trois novembre 1838, Lord Durham s'embarquait pour l'Europe avec sa famille, laissant l'administration aux mains de sir John Colborne. Il quittait le Canada et le poste de gouverneur profondément humilié d'avoir appris que l'ordonnance de son conseil spécial (28 juin), décrétant le bannissement d'un certain nombre de détenus politiques aux Bermudes, avait été désavouée par Londres.

Le noble lord n'était pas encore en haute mer que Robert Nelson pénétrait en Canada, à la tête d'un corps d'Américains et de réfugiés canadiens, prenait possession du village de Napierville, et tentait un nouveau soulèvement dans le sud du district de Montréal. Colborne marcha aussitôt contre les insurgés avec sept ou huit mille hommes, soldats, miliciens et sauvages. Au bout de huit jours, tout était rentré dans l'ordre. La vengeance des vainqueurs fut terrible. De Montréal, on put suivre leur marche à la lueur des incendies qui dévoraient les maisons, les granges, les bâtiments, des villages entiers. Les biens des particuliers furent pillés ou confisqués et vendus à l'enchère publique. Les femmes et les enfants furent abandonnés sans abris à l'approche de l'hiver, n'ayant pour partage que les horreurs du froid et de la faim. Plus tard, on dressa des échafauds ou encore on exila des insurgés vers les colonies pénales australiennes.

A la première nouvelle de la ridicule tentative de Robert Nelson, les principaux citoyens de la ville de Montréal furent arrêtés et logés en prison. On voulait terroriser ceux qui auraient pu sympathiser avec la nouvelle insurrection. La personnalité de Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine était toute désignée pour être une des premières victimes des autorités ombrageuses. De fait, son nom apparaît en tête de la liste des personnes mentionnées dans le premier mandat d'incarcération lancé et exécuté le 4 novembre 1838.

LaFontaine dépassait alors à peine trente ans d'âge. Avocat déjà recherché, il possédait une clientèle nombreuse dans la classe la plus influente du district de Montréal et, depuis 1830, il représentait le comté de Terrebonne à la législature du Bas-Canada.

A l'exemple de ses collègues de la Chambre, il s'était fait le champion des réformes administratives, réformes qui se heurtaient inutilement depuis nombre d'années à la barrière infranchissable du Conseil exécutif aussi bien que de sa créature, le Conseil législatif.

LaFontaine n'avait pas été compris dans l'arrestation en masse des chefs bas-canadiens, décrétée au début du premier mouvement insurrectionnel du mois de novembre 1837, mais il l'était cette fois-ci,

et en honorable compagnie encore, puisque au nombre de ses compagnons d'infortune figuraient entre autres: MM. Denis-Benjamin Viger, Charles Mondelet, Louis-Michel Viger, Jean-Joseph Girouard, François-M. Desrivières, Louis Coursolles, Pierre Boucher de Boucherville, Pierre Boucher de LaBruyère, et Joseph-Amable Berthelot, son associé au barreau de Montréal.

Que faire dans une prison où les détenus politiques étaient l'objet de la plus rigoureuse surveillance, où la faculté de voir toute personne du dehors leur était interdite?

Les mandats d'arrestation n'alléguant aucune offense, LaFontaine employa ses *loisirs* à écrire aux autorités judiciaires pour savoir le pourquoi des mesures extraordinaires, pour ne pas dire extrêmes, prises contre lui et ses co-détenus.

Ses lettres pressantes au shérif, aux magistrats, au procureur général d'alors, A. R. Ogden, puis au secrétaire du gouverneur, demeurèrent toutes sans réponses.

Si ces autorités gardaient ainsi le silence, c'est apparemment qu'elles ne pouvaient pas justifier leur conduite arbitraire, et alors LaFontaine s'adressa directement à Colborne.

Sa lettre, dans les circonstances, témoigne de son courage:—

“ Prison de Montréal, le 3 décembre 1838.

“ A Son Excellence Sir JOHN COLBORNE,

“ Administrateur du Gouvernement du Bas-Canada, etc.

“ SIR,

“ Dans les siècles où le droit, la justice étaient des mots pour ainsi dire inconnus aux peuples, la tyrannie, quelquefois, avait au moins des bornes. Ici, au contraire, elle semble devoir durer aussi longtemps que la malice, la haine, la vengeance existeront dans le cœur de l'homme.

“ Voilà, demain, un mois que j'ai été, sous votre administration et par vos employés, traîné de force dans cette prison, avec plusieurs de mes concitoyens que vous savez être également innocents. Nous sommes détenus au secret, sans avoir la liberté de communiquer avec nos familles, ni avec qui que ce soit.

“ Sous un gouvernement si vanté, la plupart d'entre nous ont été emprisonnés comme des animaux errants dans les rues. C'est le résultat de la carte blanche donnée au premier venu d'arrêter qui bon lui semblait. L'immoralité qui caractérise cette violation de tout ce qu'il y a de plus sacré, la liberté personnelle du citoyen, n'était comptée pour rien par les subalternes du pouvoir, voire même s'ils n'y trouvaient pas un sujet de satisfaction.

“ Arrêté illégalement le 4 novembre, je suis détenu dans cette prison plus illégalement encore. Par respect pour votre situation, je dois supposer qu'il existe contre moi quelque accusation peut-être formulée après coup, n'importe! L'accusation de haute trahison est à l'ordre

du jour. Ce sera sans doute celle-là. Eh bien! je demande solennellement à Votre Excellence mon procès devant les tribunaux légaux et constitutionnels de mon pays. Je le demande comme un droit, car je crois qu'il en existe encore dans les lois écrites. Si je pouvais m'abaisser jusqu'à demander une faveur, encore comme telle, je solliciterais mon procès.

"Un gouvernement qui a tant de moyens à sa disposition, ne doit pas hésiter à justifier l'oppression dont ses employés prennent plaisir à accabler un simple individu, seul, isolé, sans force, si ce n'est celle de sa pensée et de sa conscience que, Dieu merci! le pouvoir ne réussira jamais à enchaîner, quoique la force physique puisse tenir son corps renfermé sous les verroux.

"Ce n'était pas assez, pour assouvir la haine et la vengeance qui ont dicté mon arrestation, de m'emprisonner moi seul, il fallait encore mieux parvenir au but proposé, celui de ma ruine et de celle de ma famille, emprisonner mon parent et associé dans l'exercice de ma profession d'avocat, seule ressource de notre existence. Il fallait par là ruiner une nombreuse clientèle qui porte ombrage. S'il en faut une preuve, entre mille autres, on la trouve dans le fait que de tous les avocats en société au barreau de Montréal nous sommes les deux seuls associés qui soyons tous deux incarcérés.

"Ce n'était pas encore assez. Il fallait, au risque même de s'exposer à violer votre parole donnée par écrit à la population du nord du district, arrêter le Dr Berthelot, de la Rivière du Chêne, dont le seul crime est d'être médecin et surtout d'être mon beau-père. C'est ce qui lui a servi de passe-port pour venir habiter vos cachots. Il ne me reste plus qu'un seul membre de ma famille en liberté. Elle trouve peut-être momentanément une protection dans son sexe.

"Si Votre Excellence me refuse mon procès ou ma liberté, et persiste à autoriser la continuation de notre emprisonnement, à vous, Sir; je serai forcé d'attribuer la ruine totale qui me menace moi et ma famille, la tyrannie pratiquée envers ma personne et la privation de ma liberté qui m'est encore plus chère. Cette liberté je ne veux pas l'obtenir sans solliciter mon procès. La force physique m'a traîné dans ce lieu; mais que peut-elle, d'une manière durable, contre la force morale de l'innocence, en présence de ce tribunal qui fait tôt ou tard une égale justice et des gouvernants et des gouvernés?

"J'ai l'honneur d'être, de Votre Excellence,
le très humble serviteur,

(Signé) L.-H. LAFONTAINE."

Quelle fut la réponse de Colborne à cet appel ému de l'innocent qui se sait injustement persécuté et fort de son droit? La nécessité humiliante pour LaFontaine d'avoir à subir un interrogatoire de la part de quatre de ses confrères de langue anglaise au barreau de

Montréal, commissaires choisis par le gouverneur pour examiner la nature des charges portées contre les détenus politiques.

Comment LaFontaine se tira-t-il d'affaire? Nous allons le voir dans un document qu'il rédigea séance tenante, et qu'il remit aux délégués de Colborne en même temps que sa réponse à leur prétention de vouloir l'interroger.

10 décembre 1838.

"PRÉCIS de la Conversation entre L.-H. LaFontaine, prisonnier, et Messrs. Buchanan, Fisher, Bleakley et Weeks, assumant le titre de Commissaires pour l'examen des prisonniers politiques, laquelle conversation a eu lieu dans la prison de Montréal, le 10 décembre 1838, en présence des Messrs. D.-B. Viger et Charles Mondelet, aussi prisonniers.

"Mr. Fisher interroge M. LaFontaine.

"Mr. Fisher.—Avez-vous préparé par écrit vos réponses à cet examen?

"M. LaFontaine.—D'abord, je veux savoir pourquoi vous m'avez fait venir ici.

"Mr. F. Buchanan.—Nous ne le savons pas.

"M. LaFontaine.—Et moi encore moins.

"Mr. Fisher.—Vous êtes appelé à faire votre déclaration.

"M. LaFontaine.—Sur quoi et sur quels faits?

"Mr. Fisher.—Nous voulons avoir votre déclaration sur les événements récents.

"M. LaFontaine.—Dans ce cas, je dois demander si c'est comme témoin, délateur ou accusé que vous entendez m'interroger.

"Mr. Fisher.—C'est comme accusé.

M. LaFontaine.—Dans ce cas veuillez me dire de quoi je suis accusé, et par qui je l'ai été.

"Mr. Fisher.—Je n'en sais rien.

"Mr. Buchanan.—Ni moi non plus; cependant, il paraît par les livres que vous êtes ici sur soupçon de trahison.

"M. LaFontaine.—Par quels livres, s'il vous plaît, et par qui cette accusation est-elle portée?

"Mr. Buchanan.—Oh! il n'y a rien. Il n'y a pas d'affidavit contre aucun de vous, et nous n'avons aucun document pour le montrer.

"M. LaFontaine.—C'est bien, messieurs. Je prends acte de la déclaration que vous venez de faire qu'il n'y a ni accusation ni aucun affidavit contre nous.

"Puis, voici ma réponse à l'examen que vous prétendez me faire subir.

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

" A. A. BUCHANAN, Ecr., D. FISHER, Ecr.,
JOHN BLEAKLEY, Ecr., and G. WEEKS, Ecr.,
avocats, etc., etc."

" MESSIEURS,"

" En réponse à votre prétention de m'interroger, je vous déclare qu'il m'est impossible de concevoir en vertu de quelle autorité légale vous assumez cette prétention. Il serait absurde de penser que vous me forcez à venir comme témoin devant vous. Traîné de force dans cette prison le quatre novembre dernier, ce ne peut être que comme prisonnier, et par conséquent comme accusé, que vous voulez sans doute essayer de m'interroger. Dans ce cas, mon opinion est qu'un des objets réels de votre prétendue enquête est de m'exposer, moi et les autres prisonniers amenés devant vous, à nous incriminer. C'est fouler aux pieds tout ce que les lois anglaises, la justice, la morale, ont de plus sacré.

" Le Chef de l'Exécutif dont vous agissez sans doute comme sub-délégués, quoique illégalement, sait déjà ou doit déjà savoir que ma détention et celle d'un grand nombre d'autres dans cette prison, sont illégales, immorales, injustifiables sous tous les rapports, et, pour plusieurs d'entre nous, le fruit de la malice, de la haine et de la vengeance, et qu'elles ont eu lieu dans la vue d'opérer notre ruine et celle de nos familles. Votre prétendue enquête n'a été avisée que comme un piège tendu à l'innocence des prisonniers, en ce qu'entre autres elle a aussi pour objet d'essayer à pallier, après coup, l'emprisonnement tyrannique et illégal d'une foule de citoyens auxquels le gouvernement n'a encore pu et ne peut encore rien imputer, nonobstant tous les moyens à sa disposition. Je persiste dans le contenu de ma lettre du trois du courant, adressée à Son Excellence sir John Colborne, et dans laquelle je lui demande solennellement mon procès ou ma liberté pleine et entière.

" Pour les raisons ci-dessus je refuse de reconnaître et nie les pouvoirs ou la juridiction que vous prétendez exercer de la part de l'Exécutif.

" Prison de Montréal, ce 10 décembre 1838.

L.-H. LAFONTAINE."

" Produced before us this 10th day of
December 1838, by L. H. LaFontaine.

(Signed) DUNCAN FISHER, C.E."

Ces documents, *la lettre à Colborne* et *le précis de la conversation avec les commissaires*, sont les derniers de ceux qui couvrent la période agitée de 1837 et 1838 et que nous avons examinés de la volumineuse collection de manuscrits inédits laissés à *La Société Historique de Montréal* par sir Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine.

Le dernier devait être un instrument de liberté, puisque trois jours après sa rédaction, LaFontaine sortait de prison. Son associé au barreau, M. Jos. A. Berthelot, en était sorti la veille.

Quatre ans plus tard, le prisonnier de Colborne était appelé par sir Charles Bagot à la tête de l'administration de l'Ontario et du Québec, c'est-à-dire à la gouverne des Canadas-Unis. Le 13 septembre 1842, jour anniversaire de la bataille des plaines d'Abraham, devenait une autre date mémorable dans notre histoire, puisque ce jour-là LaFontaine obtenait l'octroi définitif et intégral des libertés britanniques. Le pays salua pour la première fois l'avènement d'un exécutif responsable au peuple, et enfin le gouverneur devait dorénavant se renfermer dans son rôle de Vice-roi constitutionnel.

Nous allons en voir l'application dans l'épisode suivant:

Le 17 décembre 1844, LaFontaine proposait à la Chambre "qu'une humble adresse fut présentée à Sa Majesté, demandant le pardon de tous crimes, offenses et délits, se rattachant à la malheureuse époque de 1837-38, et l'oubli de toutes les condamnations, mises hors la loi, portées durant la même époque". L'adresse ayant été votée à l'unanimité, le gouverneur, sir Charles Metcalfe, fut prié de la transmettre à Londres. La réponse ne se fit pas attendre. Une dépêche du secrétaire colonial, lord Stanley, en date du 31 janvier 1845, annonça que tous les déportés canadiens des colonies pénales avaient reçu leur pardon, "par l'exercice spontané de la clémence royale."

Ce n'était pas la première fois que LaFontaine, ému de la pénible condition faite aux exilés dont le sort l'avait menacé personnellement, se faisait le défenseur de la cause de ces malheureuses victimes du "mouvement" de 1837-38 que l'on avait punies avec tant de sévérité. Dès la session de 1842, l'administration dont il était le chef, sous sir Charles Bagot, annonçait que le gouvernement était en correspondance avec le ministre colonial pour qu'une amnistie fut accordée pour toutes les offenses commises pendant les troubles politiques précités, dans le Haut-Canada et dans le Bas-Canada. Lord Stanley avait répondu cette fois qu'il ne pouvait conseiller à la reine (Victoria) d'accorder une amnistie générale, mais il ajoutait que Sa Majesté serait prête à recevoir des requêtes sur chaque cas en particulier et qu'elle agirait avec la plus grande indulgence envers les personnes impliquées dans les troubles. C'était laisser entrevoir la promesse et par conséquent l'espérance d'un pardon sur requête au gouverneur général. De fait, des lettres de grâce furent accordées en 1843 à plusieurs chefs haut-canadiens et bas-canadiens réfugiés aux Etats-Unis, entre autres aux docteurs John Rolph, Charles Duncomb et Wolfred Nelson, à MM. David Gibson, Robert-S.-M. Bouchette, Ludger Duvernay et M. Montgomery. Bien plus, les procès politiques commencés depuis longtemps contre MM. Louis-Joseph Papineau, le docteur O'Callag-

han et Thomas Storow Brown, accusés du crime de haute trahison, furent abandonnés la même année.

Comment LaFontaine réussit-il à faire entrer un *nolle prosequi* en faveur de ces trois chefs bas-canadiens sans qu'ils aient eu à solliciter leur pardon, et comment s'y prit-il pour obtenir cet acte de justice de lord Metcalfe? Le document suivant va nous le dire excellemment:

"Relation de mes entrevues avec sir Chs. Metcalfe, au sujet du "Nolle prosequi" logé sur l'indictement contre M. Papineau:—

"J'étais à Montréal, lorsque Madame John Rolph vint à Kingston demander à sir Chs. Metcalfe le pardon de son mari; ce que j'appris à mon arrivée à Kingston, en juillet 1843. L'acte de pardon est daté du 25 de ce mois. L'un de mes collègues, l'Honorable J. H. Dunn, vint me voir à mon arrivée et m'informa du fait, me disant en même temps qu'il paraissait que le gouverneur hésitait à accorder ce pardon et me priait de l'aller voir à ce sujet. "Je n'irai pas," fut ma réponse. Dunn: "Pourquoi pas?" LaFontaine: "Je vous le dirai plus tard. Ne m'en demandez pas plus pour le présent."

"Le lendemain ou le surlendemain de mon arrivée, j'appris que sir Chs Metcalfe avait consenti au pardon. J'allai le voir ensuite. Il m'en parla, je lui dis que j'en étais bien content; et là-dessus, s'engagea une conversation dont voici le résumé:

LaFontaine.—"Je suis bien content, Votre Excellence, que vous ayez pardonné le Dr Rolph et les deux autres individus. Mais ils sont tous du Haut-Canada. Il est juste que j'obtienne, à mon tour, la même mesure de justice pour le Bas-Canada. Je ferai remarquer à Votre Excellence que le Dr Rolph était considéré le Papineau du Haut-Canada."

Sir Charles (qui fit un mouvement indiquant qu'il avait de suite compris le but de ma remarque) me répondit: "Si c'est le cas ici, je vous assure, M. LaFontaine, qu'il n'en est pas de même au Bureau Colonial, où le Dr Rolph est regardé comme un petit garçon comparé à M. Papineau, et tel étant le cas, je ne puis, en présence des dépêches de lord Stanley, faire pour M. Papineau ce que j'ai fait pour le Dr Rolph. Du reste, il ne l'a pas demandé."

LaFontaine.—"Est-il juste, Votre Excellence, que M. Papineau souffre par suite de la haute opinion que le Bureau Colonial a pu se former de ses talents? Vous me dites qu'il n'a pas demandé son pardon. Il n'a pas de pardon proprement dit à demander. Car, il n'y a pas de conviction contre lui. Il a très bien fait, et si j'étais à sa place j'en ferais autant. Ce que je prends la liberté de vous demander, c'est l'autorisation de loger un *nolle prosequi* en ce qui le concerne et concerne deux autres individus du Bas-Canada placés dans une situation analogue à celle des deux autres individus du Haut-Canada que vous avez pardonnés. Ce sera justice égale pour le Haut-Canada et le Bas-Canada."

Sir Charles.—“ Mais ce que vous me demandez là, M. LaFontaine, si je vous l'accorde, aura l'effet d'une amnistie générale que j'aurais préféré voir accorder, mais qui est expressément refusée par lord Stanley.”

LaFontaine.—“ C'est vrai, Votre Excellence. Mais, à mes yeux, le pardon que vous avez accordé au Dr Rolph doit, pour la même raison, avoir l'effet d'une amnistie générale pour le Haut-Canada. Et en lui accordant ce pardon, vous m'avez donné le droit de vous demander la même chose pour le Bas-Canada.”

Sir Charles.—“ Je vois que j'ai été trop loin dans l'affaire du Dr Rolph. Si j'avais alors envisagé l'affaire sous ce point de vue, je n'aurais point fait ce que j'ai fait.”

LaFontaine.—“ Je dois avouer à Votre Excellence que c'est la crainte d'un pareil résultat qui m'a empêché de vous venir voir immédiatement après mon retour de Montréal. Vous m'auriez probablement fait part de la démarche de Madame Rolph. Et moi, je vous aurais dit ce que je viens de vous dire. Il est évident que le résultat eût été un refus d'acquiescer à la demande faite dans l'intérêt du Dr Rolph. Et je ne me serais pas cru justifiable d'avoir, même involontairement, amené ce résultat. Je ne pense pas avoir manqué, en cela, à mon devoir envers Votre Excellence.”

Sir Charles.—“ Vous avez raison, aussi je ne vous en fais pas de reproche. Je suis seul à blâmer.”

LaFontaine.—“ Par ma demande, j'ai peut-être pris Votre Excellence par surprise. En vous demandant la permission de me retirer, je prie Votre Excellence de vouloir bien donner toute son attention au sujet, et je suis convaincu qu'elle reconnaîtra tout ce qu'il y a de juste dans ma demande.”

“ A quelques jours de là, une autre entrevue eut lieu sans produire un résultat plus favorable à ma demande. A cette entrevue, je donnai à entendre au gouverneur que son refus d'accéder à ma demande me mettrait dans la nécessité de me retirer du ministère. Il me permit d'aller de nouveau lui parler du même sujet.

“ Entre cette entrevue et la troisième, je fis part à mes collègues de ce qui s'était passé entre le gouverneur et moi et ma détermination bien arrêtée d'offrir ma résignation si Son Excellence persistait dans ce refus. Plusieurs d'entre eux m'autorisèrent à dire qu'ils en feraient autant.

“ A la troisième entrevue, le sujet fut ramené sur le tapis et j'offris à Son Excellence ma résignation, lui disant qu'elle serait suivie de celle de plusieurs de mes collègues. J'ajoutai qu'il était à propos qu'elle fut acceptée le plus tôt possible, afin que Son Excellence eût le temps de refaire son administration avant la convocation des Chambres. Son Excellence me pria d'aller le voir de nouveau le surlendemain. Je fus ponctuel au rendez-vous.

“ A cette quatrième entrevue, où il fallait ou acquiescer à ma demande ou accepter ma résignation et celle de plusieurs de mes collègues, sir Charles me dit, ainsi qu’il me l’avait dit à chaque entrevue précédente, qu’il regrettait beaucoup qu’une amnistie générale n’eût pas été accordée; qu’il avait été trop loin en pardonnant le Dr Rolph, mais que l’ayant fait, il devait, après avoir pesé toutes mes raisons, reconnaître que ma demande était juste; qu’il ne pouvait pas s’y refuser plus longtemps; qu’il était presque certain qu’il serait censuré *at home* (c’est-à-dire au bureau colonial), mais qu’il devait en supporter les conséquences.

“ Plus tard, il me dit en effet que sa conduite, dans cette occasion, n’avait pas été approuvée au Bureau Colonial.”

Et voilà comment il se fait que Papineau, réputé si redoutable en Angleterre, aurait pu revenir au pays avant que l’amnistie générale de 1845 eût été accordée.

Ce récit méritait d’être tiré de l’oubli. Qu’on remarque l’habileté, la droiture, et, pour tout dire, la grandeur d’âme de LaFontaine. Son désintéressement allait jusqu’à sacrifier le pouvoir et les honneurs plutôt que de ne point voir appliquer à sa province la même mesure de justice que l’on jugeait bonne pour la province voisine.

De plus, en cette occurrence, il avait fait admettre par sir Charles Metcalfe le principe de la responsabilité du chef du cabinet, principe que ce même gouverneur allait bientôt méconnaître dans d’autres circonstances qui amenèrent Denis-Benjamin Viger, un autre prisonnier de Colborne en 1838, à former un nouveau ministère pour remplacer celui de Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine.

THE PASSING OF THE SAILING SHIP AT QUEBEC

BY

PEMBERTON SMITH

I am going to ask you to imagine yourselves for a while in the fresh, breezy atmosphere of Champlain's old city of Quebec as it was in the year 1888—a very different city to the Quebec we know to-day. I am not saying that Quebec has not grown, developed and improved, but that it was different. Its appearance, type and smell was that of a seaport town. You would have seen a "forest of masts" on both shores of the river, from the Dufferin Terrace in the summer. This was long before the Château Frontenac was even planned. During the shipping season, there were in port as many as a couple of hundred ocean-going sailing vessels. Black hulled, three masted, by far the greater proportion of the "barque" rig, (that is, with square sails on the fore and main mast, and fore and aft sails only on the mizen), with but a few full-rigged ships. The mass of spars and cordage formed a thick fringe along the docks where the vessels lay often two deep on both shores of the river. The harbour, besides, was alive with tugs, large and small, an army of them, large tugs employed in towing the ships into port from below the island of Orleans, or for setting them well on their way down the lower river when loaded with lumber; small tugs towing lumber from cove to cove, or from cove to ship. The harbour front was filled with ship's chandler's stores, sail-makers' lofts, and the shops of dealers in nautical instruments and supplies of every kind; while all through the lower town was the distinct odour of hemp and tar and the flavour of the sea.

Every winter these ships scattered to the seven seas; but in the spring they all flocked back to Quebec again, to carry timber in the log to Great Britain. Some of them would bring in cargoes, but many would come "in ballast," and then would first anchor in the centre of the broad part of the river just above cape Diamond, long known as the "ballast ground." There they would dump the rock ballast overboard into the river, to be towed into the cove or dock where they were to be loaded with lumber. A good many were of British register, but a number were Norwegian vessels, and a few, Swedes. The trip from Bristol to Quebec would generally take from three weeks to a month, and the loading all of three weeks. These vessels would therefore as a rule be able to make two trips in the summer; but some of the faster ships had a record of three trips each season. They were of all ages and stages of repair: some bluff-bowed old carriers with the lines of a canal barge, like the *G. M. Carins*, some famous clipper barques like the *Maud* and the *Canova* (who used to race to Bristol and back year after year), and some of

them old East India packets, full-rigged ships, like the *Paramatta*. No one of these vessels was without an elaborate and gilded figure-head under the jib-boom. Many of them intended to sail the Quebec route until they actually fell apart; for it was a tradition that no wooden ship loaded with Canadian pine could ever sink.

They were a fine, clean, manly lot, these old Norwegian and British ship captains. They created, every summer, an atmosphere of wholesome salt-sea air in the old city. Captain Hazelton, master and part owner of the *G. M. Carins*, for instance, used to say "that he had lived all his life from a boy in his ship, all his savings were in the ship, and he intended to sail the same old ship until he died." His wish was granted. His vessel finally went to pieces in a storm off the coast of Newfoundland, and he and all hands were lost. Many were the wonderful deep-sea yarns one could gather in, by making a Sunday afternoon call on the captain aboard his own ship. The sailor-men, also, of whom you would meet groups wandering and singing along the countryside near the city during their long shore leave, were an honest trustworthy set, and no general menace to the home-keeping citizens. A sailor on a modern steamer is not, properly speaking, a sailor, but a mechanic or ordinary day-labourer: and it is often said (perhaps unjustly) that he is gathered from the "scum of the earth." But the sailor on the old "Wind-Jammer" was a very different type of man. Accustomed month after month to face the wonder and the power of the deep seas in a puny little craft, depending entirely on the navigating judgment of the captain, and his own agility and endurance during the storms, it would seem as if the open sea-air had blown most of the viciousness and self-indulgence out of his life. These were the days when a man was proud of his "A. B." certificate.

But it would not do to pretend everything was lovely; to every sea port there is a seamy side. During the three weeks the vessel was in port, the mate had full charge, and the captain would take a well-earned rest. There were some hard-drinking captains, and they were even known to retire into seclusion in Champlain street, below the hill; from whence they would be produced by the stevedore when the vessel was ready to sail, and be called on to sign the ship's bills of lading. Cases were known when the captain, at such a time, would be in a pugnacious alcoholic humour, and absolutely refuse to sign anything. The merchant's clerks, the mate, and the stevedore would all wrestle with his obstinacy till human patience was exhausted. His ship would then start down the river next tide, in tow of its tug, the captain loudly boasting that he would "show the world." But the merchant could not let his cargo leave port without his bills of lading to vouch for it; so, as a result of a quiet message from him, a swift steam launch, with ten or fifteen men in neat blue

uniforms, would slip away from the dock. This would be the Harbour Police boat *Dolphin*, who would soon catch up with the outward-bound barque moving slowly behind her tug and "arrest" the vessel for leaving port without a proper clearance, ordering her back (as Jacobs puts it) a "shame-faced looking" ship. By that time the captain would be in the sobering-up stages, and ready and willing to sign anything put before him.

Dark and mysterious deeds were said to happen on Champlain street. Certain it is that common rumour made it dangerous in the extreme for a stranger to enter the street alone after dark. The business of "Shanghai-ing" sailors thrived exceedingly. There were several men who lived with the unenviable reputation of being "Crimps," the name then given to that dubious profession. A harassed ship-captain would often lose several of his crew soon after reaching port; and after exhausting time and patience trying to locate them or replace them, would in desperation call in the services of one of these "Crimps," who, for a consideration, would agree to deliver him the required number of A. B. sailormen, who were being kept in stock, drunk and drugged, somewhere down in Champlain street, the hold-overs from the crew of some former vessel. Grim tales there were of men having been delivered as live sailors, but "doped," who were stone dead when they came aboard.

From St. Joseph de Lévis, up both sides of the river, through Wolfe's cove to Sillery and Bridgewater coves (where the Quebec bridge now crosses), the shores were strewn thick with square logs of pine, oak, and elm; and the sound of the axemen filled the air. I may say that good timber gives to the stroke of the axe a clear musical ring; and, in the distance, on a still afternoon, the music of the axe was very noticeable and pleasant. There was another musical note when the tide was "out," that was the shout of the foreman to his men, as five or six of them worked with canthooks to turn over a heavy log of pine on the beach. From tradition, this shout was always sung out by the foreman in a quaint minor sing-song "Ahoy, Aha-oy," the men heaving together with each shout. You can imagine to yourselves this music of industry, rising faintly to the ear from every direction, if you were seated on a still, warm afternoon, say on Sillery hill.

A highly-skilled workman was the Canadian broad-axe man. Alas! he and his broad-axe have passed away for ever. One edge of the blade was flat; and this tool was used for shaving off a fraction of an inch of the outside of a log, which had been stained by mud and weather, so as to give it the bright, clean appearance of new wood. The most spectacular work was the cutting off of the end of a log; which meant chopping across the grain. The culler would mark off with blue pencil say a quarter of an inch from the end, in one spot.

The broad-axe man would stand on the end of the log as it lay on the beach, possibly four feet in diameter; and, swinging up his axe, hew to the mark by a hair's breadth all through the thickness of the log. His eyes and arms combined to a marvel of accuracy. If he felt the axe descending out of the true he would swing that blow harmlessly off to one side; and, raising it again, bring it down the second time exactly to the line.

The late W. E. Gladstone, famous for cutting down trees at Hawarden for exercise, having heard of the operation of the Quebec broad-axe men, once wrote to the late Mr. Dobell, asking him to send him in a couple of Canadian broad-axes. This was done, but with the warning that these were highly specialized implements, not only unsuitable, but dangerous to the operator if used for felling trees.

Most of our writers on French Canadian folklore have classed the dwellers of the country parishes comprehensively as "town dwellers" or as "habitants" ("les cultivateurs"). But there was a third class, the "lumber-jack" or "l'homme des chantiers." This man never bothered to till the soil; and, in his love for a free outdoor life and the thrills of a dangerous occupation, he might well be likened to the old "coureurs de bois" of earlier days. Every summer the lumber jack worked in the "coves" at Quebec, "dans les chantiers de M. Wade," or "dans les chantiers de M. Dobell." But when the fall came, they were off to the shanties in earnest. In the year 1888 that I have mentioned, they gathered in by train. Prior to that, they used to make Ottawa their rendezvous, and team in. Again in the spring, when the "drive" was on past Ottawa, this city would be teeming with lumber men. They went off to their winter's work singing. Several of the songs that our friend Mr. Barbeau has collected so carefully are lumber men's songs. Some of them refer directly to Ottawa; such as, "Oh, Bytown c'est une jolie place," and "Laissez passer les Raf'-man!" For a long paddle none was more popular than the old favorite, "En roulant ma boule," the stroke of the paddle fitting in with the word "en" and the word "boule," whenever they were repeated in the chorus. "A la claire fontaine," with its quaint sad air, was another great paddle favorite. For a cheerful evening song after a hard day's work, it was "Tu dances bien, Madeleine," which goes with a ring and a swing. And one very famous old paddle song in English was, "The Opeongoo."

A lumberman, who died and was buried prior to 1888, would be amazed were it possible for him to visit a typical lumber camp of to-day. The bunk houses and the cook camps would seem to him the acme of luxury, and the food better and more varied than he ever dreamed of. But the camp is usually near the mill, which is a rough-looking, almost "portable" mill; and the mill is near the limits—thick, small, ragged-looking groves of spruce (a wood that once was

scorned as worthless). The whole aspect is that of a cheap, sordid, money-making commercial concern. Gone are the great pine trees, a hundred, a hundred and twenty feet of straight stems before the branches spread out to form a curtain of needles. Gone also are the camps where the men slept in their bunks on fresh-cut "sapin" boughs; where one iron kettle served for all the meals that were cooked. The railways now have brought the post office close to the camp. But prior to the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the men who went into camp from Mattawa, or up the Opeongo, were "dead to the world" from fall to spring. From this remoteness and loneliness grew the legend of the "chasse galerie." The Devil used to arrive in person, but disguised, on New Year's eve, and he always succeeded in gathering a crew to run the "chasse galerie." The lumbermen would start off boldly in a York boat or a canoe, Satan himself steering with a paddle, the crew paddling bow and sides. And presto! the canoe would lift. Soaring high above the trees, it would steer south and east through the air, and deliver each member of the crew at his chosen parish (Ste. Croix, Cap Santé, or St. Nicholas), to spend New Year's Day dancing and feasting with his "blonde." Satan would gather his crew together again, at midnight, and set them safely back at work in the camp the morning after New Year's. Their comrades never "peached on them;" so the only way the camp boss could tell which of his men had been out on the "chasse galerie" was by suspecting that some were more tired and exhausted than the others. The "return fare" was very moderate. No "cash down," the only cost was the promise of the lumber-jack's soul after death! But there was a come-back, and a well authenticated way of taking advantage of the trip while yet avoiding payment. After they had passed over Ottawa, it was for the bow paddle to overcome the steersman's direction, and drop down so as to graze the cross of some parish church. If they could manage this, the spell was broken; Satan himself would vanish in a burst of sulphur flame; the canoe and crew would spill into the soft snow; and the agreement to deliver their souls after death was "null and void." There would only remain the long tramp back to the camp; a small price to pay for the New Year's Day holiday. I can remember being snowbound in the little parish of St. Barthelemi one New Year's eve; when, on the good man's opening the front door at night, such a burst of driving wind and snow came in that it was difficult to close the door again, whereon the good wife remarked quite calmly and naturally: "Ah, c'est rien que la chasse galerie qui passe!"

With the opening of spring, and following the breaking up of the ice on the rivers, came the third phase, the "drive." The drive to-day is a puny affair compared to the driving of the entire log from the tributary down the whole length of the Ottawa river, and the St.

Lawrence to Quebec, there to be loaded in its entirety into one of the sailing ships already described. The skill, agility and daring of these chaps on the drive was almost beyond belief. If a couple of logs got stuck on a rock in the very middle of a rapid, their duty was, somehow, to pry them loose and put them on their way. Down the old "timber chutes" the logs passed the Chaudiere falls at Ottawa, bound together into "cribs" of thirty to sixty logs; each crib was then manned by a crew with long sweeps and floated down the lower Ottawa, running the falls at Grenville and Carillon; and so by the "Back river" behind Montreal to Charlemagne, at the foot of Montreal island. At that point, the cribs were assembled into one huge raft (on which was built a regular camp, cook house, and bunk houses) and placed in tow of a big side-wheel tug. This raft would be about a week on the water from Charlemagne to the cove at Quebec, to which it was destined. There was one old side-wheel tug with a black hull, very powerful, but very slow and careful in the handling of its load. It was an old tradition at Quebec, that whenever the "John A. Macdonald" (which was the proud name it bore) came into sight, it was going to rain.

Such is a rough sketch of the export lumber trade of timber in the log, which had reached its height about the year 1888. If you had returned to Quebec in 1891, only three years afterwards, you would have found the harbour empty of sailing ships, the many coves all idle, no big rafts coming down the river. This export of lumber to the Old Country was, in 1888, the biggest item of Canada's export trade, exceeding then her grain exports; and Quebec, the ancient capital, controlled and dominated this trade. In 1891 it was gone, never to return, so completely that in many coves the huge booms, which confined the timber when the tide was high, were left on the beaches actually to rot away. What was the cause of this sudden change? What evil fairy made all this organization disappear, and forced the older ships to seek a beach where they could be hauled up?

It has been said that this catastrophe was due to the domination of the "Quebec Ship-Labourers' Union," a very highly organized and dictatorial union. It is true they had a strike about 1890, which, so far as I can learn, has never yet been called off. There was no need. Their arbitrariness may have helped; but the main causes lay deeper than that.

For many years Quebec had held her position as the leading city of the Saint Lawrence, both socially and commercially. But in 1888 Montreal had far outgrown Quebec in commerce and wealth. In one line only, that of the exportation of lumber, had Quebec continued to rule the trade. This trade, however, depended on the tradition that no vessel could load lumber except a wood-hull vessel, in the bow of which square ports could be cut at the water line, and

through which the logs could be shoved by the stevedore's men. As all the tramp steamers were steel hulls, this confined the trade to sailing vessels, and Quebec was the farthest point up the river to which a sailing vessel could conveniently proceed. With the passing of the sailing ship would pass Quebec's usefulness as a port.

One of the leading merchants of Quebec conceived the idea of trying out the experiment, in 1889, of loading a tramp steamer with logs of timber, hauling the logs out of the water up over the side of the vessel by steam donkey engine. The experiment, in spite of tradition, proved a great success, for it was found that the cargo could be stowed in a week, instead of requiring three weeks as in the case of a sailing vessel. Still, one of the merchant's prominent confrères asked him if he knew what he was doing—"planning to destroy the chief trade of the city of Quebec." This he denied, asserting that he was planning to improve it, that his experiment was so satisfactory that he would spend \$20,000 the next year in building steamer docks (which he did).

In 1891, however, the lumber trade was all gone. While the 200 miles of up current tow from Quebec to Montreal was of vital importance to the sailing vessel, it was nothing to the steamer; and the advantages of the still-water loading berth so short a distance from a high-tide harbour appealed very strongly. Then, with the change over from sail to steam, the Ottawa lumberman (who was at that time the real producer) took a hand. If he was going to ship lumber by steam, he was going to saw to dimension, and earn the milling profit in Canada. This was absolute; and from that time, Great Britain had to buy in deals, boards, and planks sawn in the mills that began to crop up in every direction and loaded into tramp steamers at Montreal. Gone practically in one summer season were all the white-sailed ships, the running of cribs down the rapids of the Ottawa, gone were the immense rafts (the size of a farm) that used to drift from Montreal to Quebec, gone were the valiant broad-axe men, and all the industry of the coves or "chantiers" around Quebec.



Cairn of Dease and Simpson near Port Epworth, Coronation Gulf,
N.W. Territories, erected in July, 1839. (Photo by Dr. R. M.
Anderson in 1915.)

TWO MONUMENTS IN ARCTIC CANADA

BY

D. JENNESS

Of the many monuments erected by the explorers of the early nineteenth century in the Arctic regions of Canada only a small number have ever come under the notice of later travellers. The Southern Party of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, during its two years' sojourn in the region around Coronation gulf, encountered two ancient landmarks, one near cape Krusenstern at the western entrance to the gulf, the other on the south shore of the gulf, between Port Epworth and Gray's bay. Both were photographed by Dr. R. M. Anderson, to whom I am indebted for the present illustrations, as well as for most of the details concerning their structural features.

The monument on the west side of cape Krusenstern was a low conical cairn of flat dolomite slabs piled very roughly on top of one another. Its diameter at the base was about three feet, and its height perhaps three feet six inches. A casual traveller might easily have mistaken it for one of the Eskimo meat-caches that are so numerous in the district, but the stones at the bottom were too small and ill-jointed to keep out predatory animals and the centre of the pile was not hollow but solid. Undoubtedly it was the work of white men, and although no records were found within it, we can hardly be wrong in assigning it to Sir John Richardson's party in 1848. Indeed, Richardson actually mentions the erection of a monument in this very place, for he says in his journal:—

"We remained all the 30th (August) in an encampment, watching the ice outside, or making excursions across the cape (Krusenstern) to examine the sea in various directions. Some small lanes of water were visible, and the ice was moved to and fro by the flood and ebb, but no channel was discovered by which we could hope to make any progress towards the Coppermine River. The wind continued in the east-north-east quarter, and the weather was very chilling. *We employed the men in erecting a column of stone near the tents.*"¹

The second monument seen by the expedition, that near Port Epworth, was much more imposing than Richardson's. Its site was a level platform about ten feet above the sea, on a low promontory that was almost severed from the mainland by bays on either side. The monument itself was an elongated, cone-shaped structure about four feet wide at the base and twelve feet high, neatly built of flattish slabs of limestone and sandstone, interspersed here and there with diabase and granite. Surmounting it was a stone cross formed by a single horizontal slab of limestone three feet in length, with a vertical slab, also of limestone, projecting rather less than a foot above

¹ Richardson, Sir John, *Arctic Searching Expedition*, London, 1851, Vol. I, p. 296.

it. Altogether it made a very striking landmark, which could be seen from several miles off shore.

There can be no question of the Eskimos erecting such a monument, and the only travellers who had passed along this coast prior to 1915 were Franklin in 1821, Dease and Simpson in 1838 and 1839, Rae in 1849 and Hanbury in 1902. Hanbury need not be considered in this connection, because he was not in the habit of erecting landmarks along his route. In the narratives of the other explorers



Cairn of Sir John Richardson near Cape Krusenstern, N. W. Territories, erected August 30, 1848. (Photo by Dr. R. M. Anderson in 1915.)

the only mention of a monument on the south shore of Coronation gulf is an indirect statement by Simpson. In the description of his second journey with Dease in 1839 there is the following remark:—

“Emerging from the Coppermine on the 3rd of July, our first day’s progress was only five miles, the first week’s but twenty, and it was the 18th before we could attain Cape Barrow. Just as we had effected a landing through the ice, an enormous mass of rock fell, with a loud crash, from one of the opposite islands, several miles distant. I seized upon this otherwise trivial incident as a happy omen to rally the spirits of our Indian companions, which were depressed by an evil dream that had visited one of them. He saw, in his vision, flames issuing from the mouth of a *rude monumental figure of stones, erected by our people at a place where the ice detained us several days.* . .”¹

¹ Simpson, Thomas, *Narrative of the Discoveries on the North Shore of America*, London, 1843, p. 354.

It is strange that Simpson does not give the latitude and longitude of the place, as he does of three other monuments erected by his party farther east. But the silence of the other explorers, and the fact that this is the only landmark known to exist between the Coppermine river and cape Barrow, make it reasonably certain that Simpson's "monumental figure" is this striking cross, which has withstood unharmed the ravages of nearly a century.

A rather amusing corollary to this account may perhaps be of interest. When Dr. Anderson, with the geologist and topographers of his party, landed at this spot in the autumn of 1915, they left their record on a short board which they wedged in a crevice near the top of Simpson's pillar. In the February following, while travelling through the same region with a half-breed boy and one or two other companions, I camped in the vicinity of the monument, and was greatly elated to find so splendid a piece of firewood on this barren and desolate coast. The inscriptions, obscured by the encrusted snow, remained unnoticed, and this record of our comrades' visit, I regret to say, went to cook our evening meal. Its fate should be a warning to future travellers in the Arctic to make their monuments of something less valuable, and less perishable, than wood.

NOTES ON DAVID THOMPSON

BY

LAWRENCE J. BURPEE

Some years ago, while hunting material for a history of western American exploration—using American in the continental sense—I came across a curious prospectus, which interested me because the man who issued it was at one and the same time the greatest and the least known of Canadian explorers, David Thompson. Thompson had devoted a lifetime to western discovery, he was in a very real sense one of the most remarkable geographers the world has seen, and yet neither during his lifetime nor afterward had the value of his achievements been recognized. He ended a long life of tireless activity, the value of which to his country and the world it would be impossible to overestimate, in obscure poverty, and he lies in an unmarked grave at Montreal.

The prospectus, with its characteristic punctuation, is much too long to quote in full, but one may find room for a few lines:—

"To be published, in England, by David Thompson, a new and correct Map of the Countries in North America; situated between the Parallels of 45 degrees; and 60 degrees of North Latitude; and extending in Longitude from the east

side of Lake Superior, and Hudson's Bay, quite across the Continent to the Pacific Ocean; and from his own local knowledge; being the result of 22 years employment in discovering, and laying down the several Rivers, Lakes, Hills and Mountains on this extensive tract of Country; many parts of which had never before been explored; these discoveries were only finished in 1812. The whole founded on astronomical observations, the Author being an astronomer by profession."

Referring in the prospectus to the immense fund of new information which he had brought together, Thompson adds this rather pathetic comment: "In early life he conceived the idea of this work, and Providence has given him to complete, amidst various dangers, all that one man could hope to perform." He did indeed complete his work, and embodied the results on the great manuscript map which hung for years in the hall at Fort William, the headquarters of the North West Company, of which Washington Irving gave such a picturesque description, but it is not the least of the tragedies that surrounded the last years of David Thompson that his life-work never appeared in print until the appearance of the Champlain Society volume, except in a fragmentary form on official and private maps which gave no credit whatever to the man who had gathered the information through long years of toil and privation.

Thompson left behind him a long series of manuscript journals, and an autobiography based upon the journals. The latter was published a few years ago by the Champlain Society, of Toronto, under the editorship of J. B. Tyrrell, himself an eminent geographer and traveller. Tyrrell, who as a government surveyor had had occasion to go over much of the ground covered by Thompson, has testified to the extraordinary accuracy of his work. As an example he mentions the fact that his location of such a remote trading post as Fort Cumberland, on the Saskatchewan river, has been found to be within one mile of its precise spot on the earth's surface, which is actually nearer exactitude than the Capitol at Washington was placed by the foremost scientists up to the time that the Atlantic cable brought Washington into instantaneous communication with the observatory at Greenwich.

Thompson's work involved something over fifty thousand miles of travel, sometimes on horseback but generally in canoe or on foot. With very imperfect instruments, and under extraordinarily difficult conditions, he placed on the map the "main routes of travel in one million two hundred thousand square miles of Canada and five hundred thousand square miles of the United States." Although his work as an explorer and surveyor, first in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company and later with the North West Company,



Thompson and his voyageurs landing at the Kootenay village.
(Photograph of pageant)

was completed considerably more than a hundred years ago, much of the information on the official maps remains to-day substantially as he left it, not because the territory he covered has not been gone over since, but simply because his work was so accurate that it could not be improved upon. Such a man was surely worthy of remembrance.

For years there had been suggestions for some sort of a suitable memorial to Thompson, but the suggestions never took tangible shape, largely because money was needed and those who controlled the purse-strings were not sufficiently interested to loosen them. It was therefore very welcome news to those who had kept on hoping for some sort of recognition of David Thompson, that a monument had actually been built and that invitations had been sent out for the opening. The memorial takes the very appropriate form of a reproduction of a typical trading post of the old fur-trading days, with palisades and bastions. It stands on the shores of lake Windermere, British Columbia, near the spot where Thompson built his first post west of the mountains, in 1807. Lake Windermere lies not far from the source of the Columbia, between the Rockies and the Selkirks. It is a charming little lake in a very beautiful valley, and can be found on the map by running the finger west along the international boundary to the crossing of the Kootenay river, then north up the Kootenay to its source and a little beyond. It will be remembered that the Kootenay and the Columbia rise very close to one another, the first flowing south and the second north.

Before describing what took place when we met at Windermere to pay this rather belated tribute to the memory of one who was in a very real sense one of the world's greatest explorers and surveyors, it may be worth while to follow Thompson's trail over one small fraction of the immense territory he covered in his travels, if only for the purpose of suggesting the difficulties and hardships that were his portion most of the time throughout a long period of years.

Thompson used two routes through the Rockies, one by way of the upper waters of the Saskatchewan and Howse pass, and the other by way of the upper waters of the Athabaska and Athabaska pass, both leading to the Columbia west of the mountains. Howse pass had been discovered by one of his colleagues of the North West Company, but Thompson himself was the discoverer of Athabaska pass, and under dramatic circumstances.

He was, it must be remembered, a fur-trader as well as an explorer, and the object of his first journey west of the mountains was partly to further the interests of exploration and partly to open up trade relations with the Kootenay and other tribes on the Pacific slope. Thompson himself was essentially a pathfinder, but the North West

Company which employed him was naturally more interested in extending the fur trade.

For several years he had been in close touch with the Piegan, a tribe occupying the foothills east of the Rockies. The Piegan, having obtained guns and ammunition from the traders, had for some time terrorized their hereditary enemies the Kootenay. Consequently when they learned that Thompson planned to cross the mountains, and trade guns and ammunition as well as other desirable commodities with the Kootenay, they determined to prevent him. They managed to intercept some of his men on their way up to Howse pass, and sent them back with a message to Thompson that they would destroy him if he tried to get through the pass. That route was hopelessly barred, for the present at all events. One alternative remained—to find a new route farther north, beyond the Piegan territory. It was already late in the season, and he would have to climb through an unknown pass in the heart of winter, to penetrate the very fastnesses of the Rockies when every gorge would be filled with snow and swept by deadly avalanches. No man less intrepid than Thompson would have made the attempt, knowing what was before him.

With a train of pack-horses, he made his way through the forest from the Saskatchewan northwest to the Athabaska. It was hard going, not because the forest was dense but rather because it was filled with dead timber. Any one who has attempted to ride a horse through "down" timber—even a mountain horse with its sagacity, resourcefulness and ability to climb like a cat—will appreciate the difficulty of the journey, and Thompson and his men had twenty-four loaded horses to look after. The Piegan had followed Thompson's party for a time, but coming upon three grizzlies blocking their track, they were persuaded that Thompson, who, because of his astronomical observations, was deemed a great medicine man, had placed them there as a rearguard, and abandoned the pursuit.

Thompson reached the Athabaska about the end of October, and turned up the great valley through which the Canadian National Transcontinental line now runs to the Pacific. His way lay through what is now the Jasper National Park, but at Brulé lake he found it impossible to take the horses farther. He therefore camped there for several weeks, making snowshoes and sleds, while some of his men went back for dogs to take the place of the horses, and the hunters brought in game to convert into pemmican.

A month later he was off again, with dog-trains, making his way slowly up the Athabaska over the ice. This part of the Rocky mountains is inexpressibly beautiful in summer. The river winds down through a valley clothed with splendid timber and here and there a meadow carpeted with such a wealth of wildflowers as one finds only in the Rockies. Hills roll up on either side, and beyond them tower

the tremendous peaks with their glittering crowns of eternal snow. One travels over excellent trails on a sure-footed mountain pony, equipped with a tipi, that most comfortable and convenient form of tent, plenty of provisions, and a fishing rod. One enjoys all the delights of mountain travel with no serious discomforts.

David Thompson was in very different case. He was travelling through unknown country in mid-winter, with the thermometer ranging down to thirty and forty below zero, sometimes accompanied by gales of wind. He had a whole season's trading goods to get over the mountains, with uncertain transport. His provisions would be sufficient to feed his party if he made the pass. If no practicable way were found through, they might have to face starvation before they could retrace their way to the nearest post.

His men were selfish and irresponsible. He was the brains of the party, the leader, on whose shoulders rested the entire burden of responsibility. If things went wrong, he alone would be to blame. The men would not even for their own protection stick to a reasonable ration. They have, says Thompson, the appetites of wolves, and glory in it. Each man put away eight pounds of meat a day or more. Upon Thompson reproaching them with gluttony, and reminding them that their lives depended upon saving enough provisions to carry them through, they replied, "What pleasure have we in life but eating." As a matter of fact they were worried and alarmed over their situation in this unknown part of the mountains at such a season of the year, and were trembling on the verge of mutiny.

Thompson had now passed the junction of the Sunwapta and Miette which together form the Athabaska, and had turned up the former stream. The Miette leads up to what was afterward known as the Yellowhead pass, and the Sunwapta and Whirlpool to Athabaska pass. The Indians in his party assured him that the defile of the mountains they were approaching was the haunt of immense animals which from their description appeared to be mammoths. These stories naturally did not tend to restore the confidence of the voyageurs. A few days later they came on the track of a large animal, which seems to have puzzled even the scientific Thompson. The Indians insisted it was a fabulous monster. The explorer believed it to be an unusually large grizzly, but confesses that the different appearance and great size of the footprints were hard to explain. The men were getting out of hand, and were only kept from open rebellion by the iron will of their leader.

On the 10th of January, Thompson found himself in a narrow gorge leading up to what appeared to be the summit of the pass. The cold was intense and the surroundings appalling. "My men," says Thompson, "were the most hardy that could be picked out of a hundred brave, hardy men, but the scene of desolation before us was

dreadful. I knew that a heavy gale of wind, much more a mountain storm, would bury us beneath it, but thank God the weather was fine.... On our right lay an enormous glacier, about two thousand feet in height; eastward of this a high steep wall of rock. At its foot a forest of pines had been cut clean off by an avalanche as with a scythe.... My men were not at their ease."....

They slept as well as they could in this wind-swept gorge, on snow which they found with a pole to be twenty feet deep. In the morning Thompson found to his delight that they had reached the height of land, and were looking down on the Pacific side of the mountains. "A new world," he exclaims, "was before me." But he was not yet out of trouble. He still had a long way to go, at the worst time of the year, had to find provisions, and his men were still dispirited and disaffected. However; he began the descent, following what is now known as Wood river, a small tributary of the Columbia. The slope was so sharp that the dogs could not control the sleds; they went flying down the incline at breakneck speed, and brought up on either side of a tree in a confused and howling wilderness of dogs, sleds and scattered loads.

Thompson mentions in his journal that on January 13 he sent some men to bring forward certain goods that had been left behind, "which they brought except 5 pounds of ball which being in a leather bag was carried away by wolverine." In August, 1921, one hundred and ten years later, one of the members of an interprovincial boundary survey party discovered at the summit of the pass, where the leather bag had been purloined by the wolverine, 114 deeply corroded musket balls in a cache.

The summit of Athabaska pass, which Thompson found so uninviting and even terrifying in the depth of winter, is a very beautiful spot six months later. In the depression between the hills lie three little mountain tarns, the middle one of which, known since the days of the fur trade as the Committee's Punch Bowl, perhaps from some fancied resemblance to a famous punch bowl in the old Beaver Club in Montreal, the social home of the partners of the North West Company, empties on one side to the Pacific and on the other to the Arctic. Magnificent peaks tower up on every side, among them two that have for years been the subject of a curious controversy. All the maps, up to a few years ago, showed Mount Brown and Mount Hooker as the highest peaks in Canada, and among the highest in America. The height of the former was given as 16,000 feet and of the latter 15,700. This misinformation was finally traced back to the English botanist, David Douglas (after whom the Douglas fir was named), who visited British Columbia in 1827 and crossed the mountains by Athabaska pass. Douglas climbed one of these peaks, and estimated their height above sea level on the supposition that

the summit of Athabaska pass was 11,000 feet. As a matter of fact it is just about half this height, and Brown and Hooker are respectively 10,782 and 9,156 feet. Douglas apparently got his information from Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, who is credited in Thompson's "Narrative" with having computed the height of the pass to be 11,000 feet.

It will not be necessary to follow Thompson beyond the mountains, except to mention that some of his men finally became so unmanageable that he was rather relieved than otherwise when four of them deserted and turned back over the mountains. He descended Wood river to the Columbia, at a place famous afterward in the history of the western fur trade as Boat Encampment. Here he spent the rest of the winter, built canoes, and in the spring made his way up the Columbia to Fort Kootenay on Windermere lake. Portaging over what was long afterwards known as Canal Flats, between the head of the Columbia and the Kootenay, he descended that river to the Columbia, and the Columbia to the sea.

Among his other achievements, it may be noted here that Thompson shares with Robert Gray and Lewis and Clark the honour of having discovered and explored the most important river on the Pacific coast. Gray discovered the mouth of the Columbia; Lewis and Clark explored it from the mouth of the Snake to the sea; and Thompson explored and very carefully surveyed the entire river, as well as its principal tributary the Kootenay, from their sources to the sea. Even to-day it is said that Thompson's work remains as the only complete survey of the Columbia.

To return to Kootenay House, the original trading post was built near the source of the Columbia, over eleven hundred miles upstream, four years before Astoria was constructed at the mouth of the river as the headquarters of John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company. The young and ambitious American fur-trading organization was thus standing guard over the mouth of the Columbia, while its sturdy Canadian rival the North West Company had taken possession of its upper waters. The subsequent rivalry between these two companies is too big a question to go into here. It might be noted, however, as a little foot-note to the history of the fur trade, that Washington Irving, who had used his brilliant pen to throw the glamour of romance around the story of Astoria, at one time proposed to David Thompson that he might turn over his journals to him for publication, but as it appeared that Irving's idea was merely to extract from them such material as he could make use of in his own work, the Canadian explorer declined the offer.

Sixty-five years after Thompson's death, on the last day of August, 1922, a group of representative Canadians and Americans, public men, historians, business men, travellers and mountain-climb-

ers, poets and novelists, were gathered together on the shores of lake Windermere to take part in the opening of a peculiarly fitting memorial to the explorer. The new Fort Kootenay rises from the ashes of the old, as a monument to a man who never sought, and certainly never received, those marks of recognition which have been showered upon many men of inferior worth. In measuring the value of his services to the world one must not forget that the explorer who puts the results of his surveys on the map with the precision of David Thompson is not merely a pathfinder scouting ahead of the tide of settlement, but he is at the same time making a tremendous contribution to human knowledge, he is laying the foundation upon which the geologists and the miners, the road builders and railway builders, and many others, must base their work. The results of Thompson's fifty-thousand miles of exploration and survey, embodied in his great manuscript map, and incorporated from time to time in the printed work of official and private mapmakers, have been unquestionably of great and permanent value.

For this memorial we are primarily indebted to the fine public spirit of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and the old Hudson's Bay Company, which between them bore its cost, and whose officials have laboured in many ways to make it a success. The fort, it is understood, is to be maintained as a public museum of the fur trade, under the direction of a local organization.

As a picturesque introduction to the more formal ceremonies in opening the building, the Windermere committee had arranged an historical pageant, and had enlisted the co-operation of a number of old-timers, voyageurs and trappers and early settlers, as well as a neighbouring tribe of Kootenay Indians. The inclusion of the Kootenay was a particularly happy thought, as their forefathers had been intimately associated with David Thompson during all the years that he was engaged as a fur-trader and explorer west of the Rocky mountains. The Kootenay, who are a remarkably capable and fine-looking lot of people, intelligent, industrious and self-respecting, notable hunters and splendid horsemen, and some of them, both men and women, with faces that made those of the whites look decidedly commonplace, threw themselves into the pageant with enthusiasm, and did perhaps more than any others to make it a success.

The pageant represented David Thompson landing with his trading goods on the shores of lake Windermere. The circumstance that a pretty stiff wind was blowing across the lake made the approach of the brigade of canoes so much the more effective and dramatic. The Indians, who were encamped in their tipis on a level piece of ground high above the lake, mounted their ponies and swept down a sharp slope to meet the explorer at the water's edge.

No photograph could give any adequate idea of the spirit and effectiveness of this picture. The movie people were of course on the spot, and got some excellent material for the screen, but even they could not catch the riot of colour, gaudy blankets, buckskin tunics and breeches and skirts covered with beadwork, feather head-dresses, plumes and necklaces and bracelets, spears and glittering horse-furniture, that made the scene one to be long remembered.

Other scenes represented Thompson in his fort, smoking the pipe of peace with the Indians, entering into negotiations with the chiefs, meeting Father De Smet, the famous Belgian missionary (this, however, was something of an historical anachronism as De Smet flourished about fifty years after Thompson's time), and carrying on his work as fur-trader and explorer.

The celebration closed with an evening of short addresses by Canadian and American historians who had made special studies of various phases of the work of David Thompson, and an original poem on the spirit of exploration by Bliss Carman, the veteran Canadian poet. Altogether this Windermere meeting, with its permanent memorial, has done at least something to redeem the long years of neglect which the name of David Thompson has suffered at the hands of his fellow-countrymen and the world.

FORT SIMPSON, ON THE NORTHWEST COAST

BY

MARIUS BARBEAU

Among the west-coast establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company in the first part of the nineteenth century, only the trading post at Victoria was comparable in importance with that at Fort Simpson, which was situated near the mouths of the Nass and Skeena rivers, below the present Alaskan boundary, at the place now called Port Simpson.

Fort Simpson was founded about 1833 under the direction of John Work, and later placed under Peter Skene Ogden. It was intended to replace the fort on the Nass, then disestablished—like that of Millbank—on account of its unfavourable situation. The other forts along the coast at that date were those of Talkoo (Taku) and Stickeen (later named Fort Wrangel), in Alaska; and those of Rupert and Victoria, to the south of Fort Simpson. A trading post was also maintained at Bella Bella.

Fort Simpson served as a fur-trading centre for many Indian tribes—the Tsimshian nations (Niska, Gitksan and Tsimshian proper) of the Nass and Skeena rivers and the adjacent coast, the Haidas of



DRAWING BY FREDERICK ALEKSEI FORT SIMPSON

Fort Simpson

Queen Charlotte and Prince of Wales islands, the Tlingit of the Alaskan coast, and some other tribes to the south. The coast natives were warlike and fairly numerous; long-standing feuds between them often resulted in bloody encounters. Clashes between the Haidas, when they visited the fort, and the Tsimshian proper, more than once created an awkward situation for the officers of the company, whose aim was to promote peace for the benefit of their trade. Conspiracies and outbreaks among the ten tribes of the Tsimshian proper—about 2,500 strong—then permanently stationed around the fort, brought matters to an impasse, and when they tried to burn the fort, about 1855, the guns in the corner bastions were fired and a few cedar planks were crushed in the deserted Indian houses on the peninsula just opposite. Peace was soon patched up, however, and the friendly relations desired by both sides resumed. Ammunition for the old eight pounders in the bastions being scarce, the chief trader would pay a shilling for each cannon ball found around the plank houses and returned to the fort for further use if occasion required it. To this day the Port Simpson Tsimshians have remembered with humour the premium placed on recovered gun ammunition.

Many interesting episodes of early life at the fort and among the Indians have been related in print (cf. Arctander's *The Apostle of Alaska*, Crosby's *Among the Ankomenums* and Collison's *In the Wake of the War Canoe*); various manuscripts also contain abundant information.¹

The following description of the fort as it stood in 1859 is taken from a manuscript of the Bancroft Collection, entitled *Forts and Fort Life in New Caledonia under Hudson's Bay Company Regime*, by Pym's Nevins Compton (Victoria, 1878).

The fort was built on the same model as those of Rupert and Victoria; the only difference was in size, that of Victoria being larger and with more buildings. The palisaded enclosure at Fort Simpson, about two hundred feet square, surrounded several buildings, a well and a garden (cf. Ill., Compton's plan).

The houses and stores, two stories high, with shingle roofs, were built of logs ten to twelve inches square. The doors and sashes were painted and the walls whitewashed.

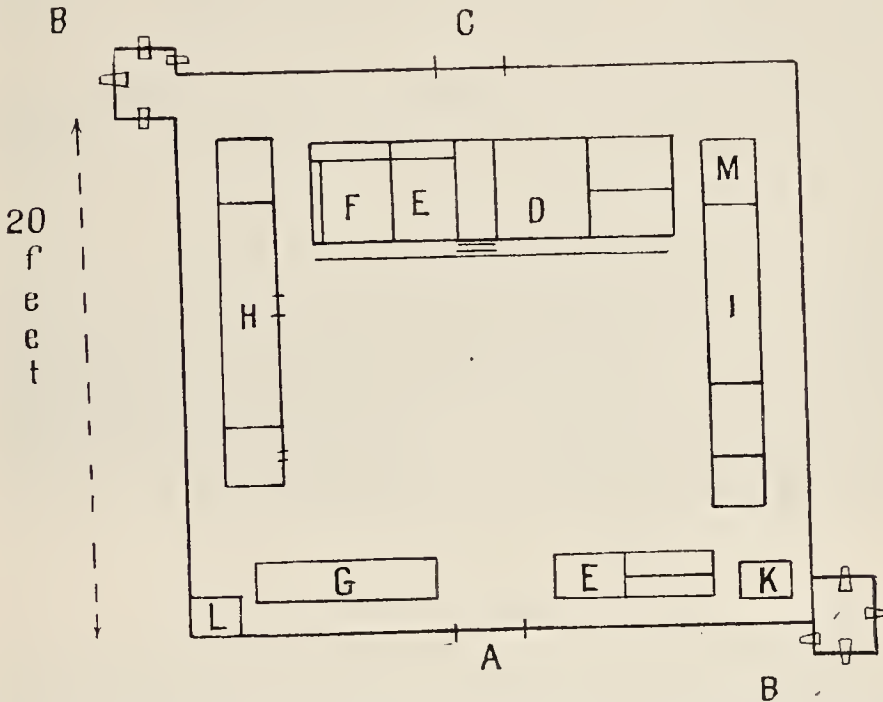
One of the most interesting features of the establishment, naturally, was the palisade. It was composed of pickets and a bastion "at each corner"—according to Compton's MS.—or rather, as shown in the plan, at two corners diagonally opposite. In each bastion stood four guns, old eight pounders.

The gates were massive structures about six or seven inches thick, studded with large nails, to guard against their being cut down

¹ Particularly that most voluminous diary, covering about half a century, written by a native convert—Clah-Wellington—and recently sold by his heirs to a curio collector in England.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1923

by the natives. There were small doors within so as to admit only one person at a time. A small box for the gate keeper stood near the front gate.



Pym's Nevins Compton's plan of Fort Simpson (1859). A, front entrance; BB, bastions, 4 guns each; C, back entrance; D, commanding officer's quarters; E, mess room; F, officers' quarters; G, trade shop; H, warehouse; I, men's houses; K, blacksmith's shop; L, carpenter's shop; M, kitchen.

The pickets surrounding the establishment were of cedar, about twenty-two feet long by nine to twelve inches thick; they were square laterally to prevent bullets from passing between, sunk four feet deep in the ground, and attached to cross pieces, about four feet from the top, by means of wooden pegs or oblique notches (*cf.* Ill., from Compton's diagram). The ends of these cross pieces, about fifteen feet long, were mortised into stouter pickets called "King posts."

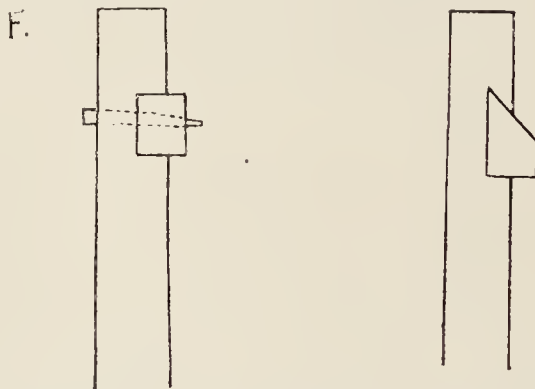
An inside gallery, according to the same description, ran around the whole enclosure of pickets at about four feet from the top, and afforded "a capital promenade and a means of seeing everything." It was reached by staircases giving separate entrance to the upper bastions, which were octagonal and loopholed for musketry.

A regular watch was kept all night in a small turret, surmounted by the flag staff, over the gate. Every half hour the call "All's well!" was repeated in nautical fashion.

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Fort Simpson, in Compton's own words, was "a typical fort, well kept, well built, and one of the finest on the coast." Captain McNeil was in charge at that time (1859) and the personnel consisted of thirteen other men, Orkneys, French-Canadians and Norwegians. The steamer *Beaver*, replaced later by the *Labouchère*, served all the posts along the west coast.

We are indebted to an old Tsimshian native, Frederick Alexksee, for a pictorial reconstruction of the Indian village of Port Simpson—named *Lahkwaw-Kalamps*, "Place-of-Wild-roses," in Tsimshian—



Pickets and cross-pieces and method of attachment.

the totem poles and the fort (at the left hand corner of the illustration here reproduced) as they stood within the recollection of a few old men still surviving.

The only two buildings that remained of the old trading post—a Hudson's Bay Company store and house—were destroyed by fire in the winter of 1915, when the author was engaged in ethnographic research among the adjacent Indians, now reduced in number to about four hundred (*cf.* two photographs taken during, and after, the fire). A modern store privately owned has since occupied the site of the old fort, every vestige of which has now disappeared, and it is only a matter of years before the exact location of the structure and its various features will become a matter of doubt and controversy. No time, therefore, should be lost before commemorating by some permanent inscription this interesting landmark of the early days on the northwest coast.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1923



The last remaining buildings of the Hudson's Bay Co.'s post destroyed by fire in the winter of 1915. (Photo by the author.)



After the fire.

SOME HISTORIC AND PREHISTORIC SITES OF CANADA

BY

THE CANADIAN NATIONAL PARKS BRANCH

Favourable progress was made during the past year relative to the acquisition of historic sites of national importance recommended to the Department of the Interior by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, for preservation, restoration and marking. This board, which acts in an advisory capacity to the department, is composed of recognized historians from the various sections of the Dominion which they represent, and was recently reorganized. Its present personnel is as follows:—

Chairman—Brig. Gen. E.A. Cruikshank, LL.D., F.R.S.C., Ottawa.
J. H. Coyne, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S.C., St. Thomas, Ont.; J. Plimsoll Edwards, Halifax, N.S.; His Honour F. W. Howay, LL.B., F.R.S.C., New Westminster, B.C.; Benjamin Sulte, LL.D., Litt.D., F.R.S.C., Ottawa; J. Clarence Webster, BA., M.D. (Edin.), etc., Shediac, N.B.; J. B. Harkin, Commissioner of Canadian National Parks, Ottawa.

Secretary—Arthur A. Pinard, Department of the Interior, Ottawa, Ontario.

Ready co-operation is being accorded the department in this work by provincial and local historical societies and affiliated organizations. The board has had under scrutiny over seven hundred sites and of these one hundred and twelve have been selected to receive attention.

Where there are no historic remains to be restored or preserved on any of these sites and it is desired to perpetuate the historic occurrence, a memorial in the form of a cairn, boulder or monument to which will be affixed a standard bronze tablet of a highly artistic nature, bearing the historic data is to be erected. An order has been placed for twenty of these tablets and sixteen are at present available for erection during the present summer. A competition was held by the Department for the purpose of obtaining suitable designs for a monument.

An extensive publicity campaign is carried on through the press relative to historic sites selected for action, with a view to creating public interest regarding the early history of Canada.

In the case of important sites acquired, permanent caretakers are employed to carry out the necessary repairs, and act as cicerones to visitors. At smaller sites, part-time caretakers, resident in the immediate vicinity, are employed to supervise them.

A summary of the work accomplished during the past year is enumerated hereunder. The data included in last year's summary are



Clockhouse, Fort Edward, Windsor, N.S.

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

not repeated. (See *Canadian Historical Association of Canada, Annual Report, 1922*, pp. 52-65.)

MARITIME PROVINCES

Louisbourg, N.S.

The Department of Railways and Canals has consented to transfer to the control of this department for historic memorial purposes an area of 69 acres owned by them, comprising a portion of the original site. Steps are also being taken to secure certain parcels owned by the Louisbourg Memorial Association. Certain guns have been located in England and action has been taken to procure these if possible.

Fort Edward, Windsor, N.S.

Area 27 acres, on which are situated original blockhouse and ruins of officers' quarters. Blockhouse stained and matter of possible encroachment on property investigated. Action was taken to protect the war trophies on the site and to ensure safety for the public around the ruins. Caretaker appointed.

Fort Cumberland (about four miles from Amherst, N.S.).

Area five acres. Fence material was purchased and fence partially erected. Steps are being taken to secure two of the original cannon for the site.

Port Royal, N.S.

Situated near the mouth of the Annapolis river on the opposite side and six miles below Annapolis Royal. Site of French fort or habitation, built in 1605 by de Monts and Champlain. Cairn and tablet to be erected.

QUEBEC

Second Battle of Laprairie (six miles from Laprairie).

Site of Battle of August 11, 1691, between New England States Militia and the French under Captain de Valrennes. A cairn and tablet will be erected during the coming summer on a plot of land donated by Mr. David Daigneault for this purpose.

Fort Chambly, at Chambly.

Considerable progress was made during the past year in connection with repair work on the buildings to prevent further deterioration. This included work on the buttress walls, tower, caretaker's house and latrines. The clearing of the old cemetery has been completed. A new flag pole was erected, adequate fire protection provided and a new fence placed on the east side of the site. The fort was visited by over six thousand people.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1923

Fort Lennox, Ile-aux-Noix.

Area 210 acres. Since the transfer of the site to the Department of the Interior from the Department of Militia and Defence on May 18, 1921, considerable progress has been made in regard to the preservation of the old fort. General improvements have been carried out on the island to make it attractive for tourists. Bridges were reconstructed on the east and south sides, two wharves built and two flag poles erected. General restoration work was carried out on the massive buildings, such as masonry work on walls, laying of floors, replacing of windows, etc. A standard tablet will be placed on the walls at the entrance to the fort, also a memorial on some suitable location on the island to commemorate the Battle of Ile-aux-Noix. Over two thousand people visited the island and fort during last summer.

Tadoussac.

An early fur trade centre for the Montagnais during the French régime. A noted post for Indian traffic and oceanic navigation. It is proposed to place a tablet on the outer wall of the old church if permission can be secured.

Madeleine de Verchères.

It has been ascertained that a monument was erected within a few yards of the St. Lawrence river on the site of the old fort near the old windmill, where over two centuries ago Madeleine de Verchères through her heroic courage saved the settlement from a band of marauding Indians. Steps are being taken to secure the control thereof.

Lachine Massacre, 1689.

Situated on the island of Montreal. Here on August 5, 1689, the Iroquois attacked the settlement and massacred a large number of their inhabitants. Cairn and tablet proposed.

Battle of the Cedars.

Situated about 43 miles above Montreal. Site of blockhouse built by the Americans at the narrows of the river in 1776, where on June 17 they were defeated by British forces who took possession of the place. Cairn and tablet recommended.

Battle of Eccles Hill.

Situated near Frelighsburg, county of Missisquoi. A monument erected some years ago by the Dominion Government, together with the site on which it is located, was transferred to the Department of the Interior by the Department of National Defence, by Order in Council of October 16, 1922.

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

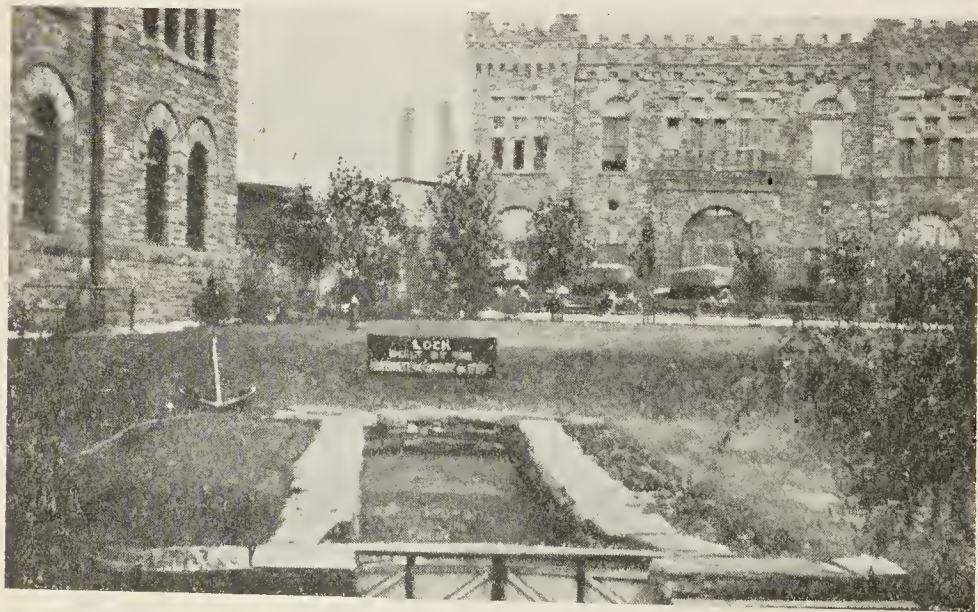
Côteau du Lac.

Site of old fort and canal; the latter was the first of a series of small canals constructed between lake St. Louis and lake St. Francis under the governorship of Sir Frederick Haldimand in 1778. Original canal used until 1801. A second and wider one was constructed in 1817, the remains of which still exist. The old fort was constructed in 1812 as a protection to the canal and was used for other military purposes. Only indistinct evidences of mounds remain. Site owned by Department of Railways and Canals, which has consented to its transfer.

EASTERN ONTARIO

Windmill Point, near Prescott.

A standard tablet will be placed immediately above the entrance to the windmill this summer, to commemorate the victory over the invading force of American filibusterers, November 11-13, 1838, the necessary permission to this end having been granted by the Department of Marine and Fisheries.



Old "Lock site," Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.

Chrysler's Farm, near Morrisburg.

Area .23 of an acre. A monument consisting of an obelisk, on either side of which are two guns, was erected by the Dominion Government in 1895, adjacent to the Montreal-Toronto Highway, to commemorate the victory over the invading American forces at the Battle of Chrysler's Farm, November 11, 1813. Transferred to this

ANNUAL REPORT, 1923

Department by Order in Council of April 4, 1921, by the Militia and Defence Department. An additional bronze tablet is to be placed on the monument this summer. Part-time caretaker appointed and minor repairs carried out.

Ernestown Shipyard, Bath.

Here was built in 1816 the first steamboat which navigated lake Ontario. A cairn and tablet are to be erected on a plot of land 25 feet square, adjacent to the Provincial Highway, at Finkle's Point, which has been donated for this purpose.

Point au Baril, Maitland.

Site of a small shipyard established by the French in 1758 near the village of Maitland. Here in April, 1759, they launched and completed two small ships of war, which were equipped and manned and continued to cruise lake Ontario until the conquest of 1760, when both were taken. Tablet proposed for erection on walls of an old tower located on the site.

WESTERN ONTARIO

Mission of Ste. Marie II, Christian Island.

Situated near Penetanguishene, on an Ojibwa Indian Reserve. Permission has been secured from the Indians to carry on the proposed work of restoration, etc. A memorial tablet will be placed on a large boulder and the property cleared, drained and fenced during the present summer.

Mission of St. Ignace.

Situated in the township of Tay, on the farm of Charles E. Newton. Site of Huron village captured by the Iroquois on March 16, 1649, and of the place to which Brébeuf and Lalemant were brought and where they were tortured to death. No visible remains. An area containing approximately $1\frac{3}{4}$ acres, together with a right of way, has been donated to the Department, and this will be fenced and a cairn and tablet erected during the present summer.

Port Dover (wintering site).

Situated about three-quarters of a mile from the "cliff site," at the mouth of Black creek. Site of the wintering place of Dollier and Galinée and seven other Frenchmen in 1669-70. An area, on which a cairn with a commemorative tablet, enclosed by a suitable design of fence, will be erected during the present summer, has been secured. A landing dock will also be constructed.



Cross "Cliff site," Port Dover, Ont.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1923

Normandale blast furnace.

Site of first blast furnace for the manufacture of iron in western Ontario. Established in 1823 at Normandale and maintained in operation until 1850. Tablet proposed for erection on the outer wall of the Dominion Fish Hatchery, between Port Rowan and Port Dover.

Brock's route (Port Dover to Detroit).

It has been decided to erect suitable memorials at several of the camping places of General Brock's expedition to Detroit in 1812, including Port Dover, Port Stanley, Port Talbot, Point Pelee and Sandwich.

WESTERN CANADA

North-west Rebellion, 1885.

The board have recommended that the following sites associated with the North-west Rebellion should be marked by suitable memorials: Battlefield of Fish Creek, Frog Lake, Duck Lake battlefield, Batoche, Cutknife battlefield and Battleford. Action is being taken to secure control of suitable sites.

Battle of Seven Oaks, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Site of battle between fur-trading companies on June 19, 1816. Area approximately one-half acre, on which is located a monument, situated within the limits of the city of Winnipeg. At present owned by the Lord Selkirk Association of Rupert's Land, which has agreed to transfer the area to the control of this Department upon payment of arrears of taxes.

Fort Langley, B.C.

Original fort built in 1827. Was the first Hudson's Bay Company establishment north of Fort George. A trading post during early days and the birthplace of the colony of British Columbia. Abandoned in 1890. Only one building, which is close to the Fraser river and alongside the Canadian National Railway, remains. Acquisition of site pending.

The following sites have been recommended by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board for action and will be suitably marked in due course:—

MARITIME PROVINCES

Fort Monckton, near Port Elgin, N.B.

Fort Lawrence, near Amherst, N.S.

Battlefield of Grand Pré, near Grand Pré, N.S.

Landing-place of United Empire Loyalists, St. John, N.B.

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

QUEBEC

St. Maurice Forges, near Three Rivers.
Battlefield of Three Rivers, at Three Rivers.
Fort Laprairie, at Laprairie.
Hochelaga, at Montreal.
Fort Crevier, St. François du Lac.
Battle of de Repentigny.
Chateauguay Battlefield and Blockhouse, Allan's Corners.
Battlefield of Lacolle and Lacolle Blockhouse, Lacolle.
Gaspé, landing place of Jacques Cartier.
Fort Remy, near Montreal.
Fort Sorel, Sorel.
Fort Longueuil, Longueuil.
Fort Gentilly, above Lachine.
Fort Cuillerier, below Lachine.
Fort Rolland, near Lachine.
Fort Verdun, near Montreal.
Fort Senneville, at Senneville.
Fort Charlesbourg Royal, Cap Rouge.
Arbre-à-la-Croix, near Cap Madeleine.
Battlefield of Rivière des Prairies, (Coulee Groulx).
Lachenaie, near Terrebonne.
Fort St. John, St. John.
Fort Ste. Therese, near St. John.
Fort Maisonneuve, at Point Calliere, Montreal.
Three Rivers Massacre, Platon and Fort at Three Rivers.
Odelltown.

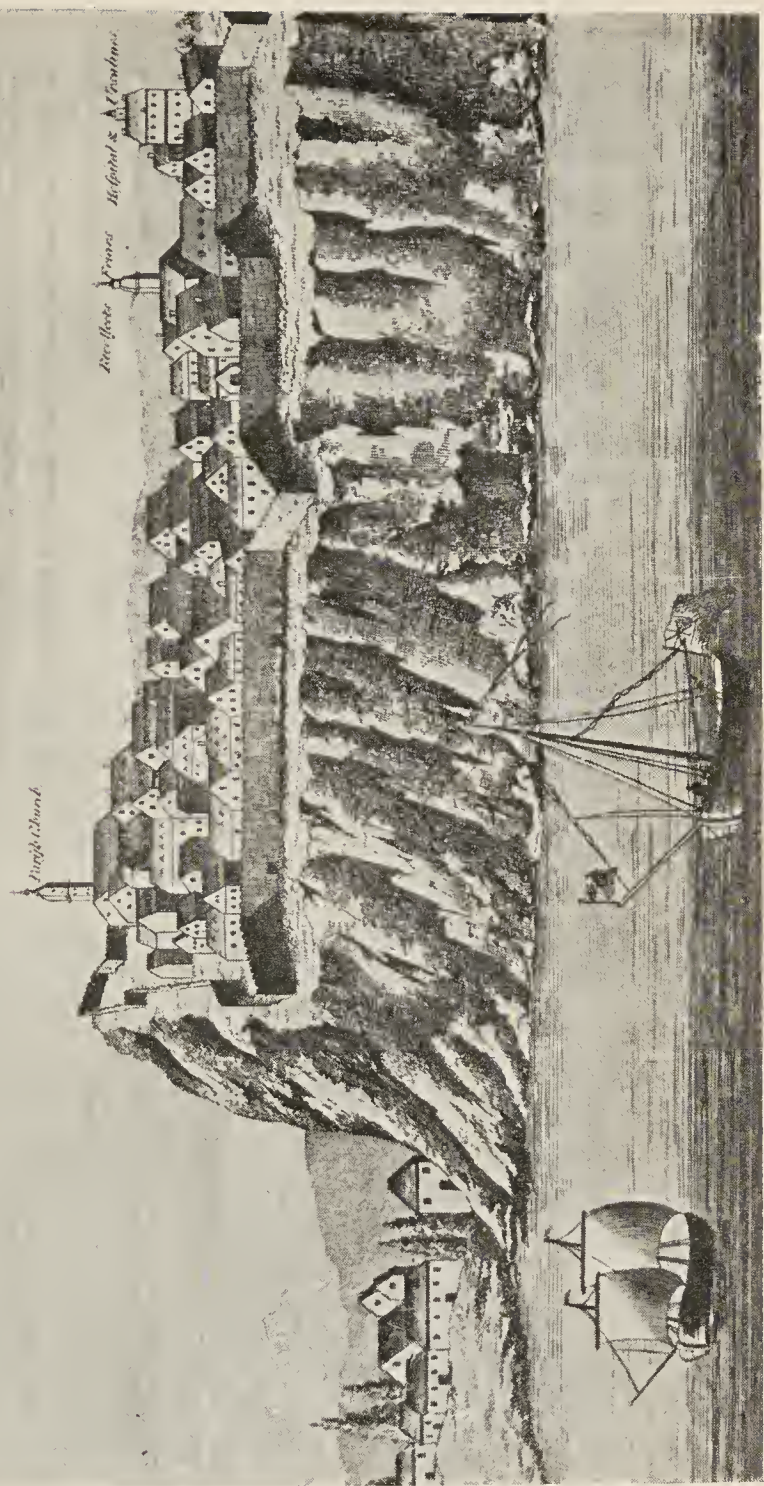
EASTERN ONTARIO

Old Simcoe Building, Kingston.
Glengarry House, near Cornwall.
Glengarry Cairn, near South Lancaster.
Fort Wellington, Prescott.
Gananoque.
Fort Levis, Batteries at Adam's Point, near Cardinal.
Fort Cataraqui or Frontenac, Kingston.

WESTERN ONTARIO

Southwold Earthworks, near St. Thomas.
Mission of Ste. Marie I, near Midland.
Chippewa Battlefield, near Niagara Falls.
Frenchman's Creek Battlefield, near Bridgetown.
Vrooman's Battery, near Queenston.
Cook's Mills, near Welland.

LES TROIS RIVIERES.
1760



Trois Rivières, Que., in 1760.

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Fort George, near Niagara.
Battlefield of Beechwoods or Beaver Dam, near Thorold.
Battlefield of Ridgeway, near Fort Erie.
Tête du Pont Battery, near Chippewa.
Weishun's Redoubt, near Willoughby.
Navy Island Shipyard, near Chippewa.
Sault Ste. Marie (Lock Site).
Port Arthur.
Fort William.
Point de Meuron, near Fort William.
Fort Nottawasaga, near Stayner.
Brock's Route (Port Dover to Detroit).
Glengarry Landing, near Edenvale.
Fort St. Joseph, near Richard's Landing.

WESTERN CANADA

Fort Livingstone, Manitoba.
Fort Prince of Wales, Churchill, Manitoba.
Clark's Crossing, Saskatchewan.
Fort Pitt, Saskatchewan.
Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound, British Columbia.

LIST OF MEMBERS AND AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

(A) AFFILIATED SOCIETIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

ANTIQUARIAN AND NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF MONTREAL.

Château de Ramezay; W. D. Lighthall, F.R.S.C., President,
Montreal Trust Building, Montreal; Miss K. M. Cooper,
Corresponding Secretary.

ANTIQUARIAN AND NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF MONTREAL (WOMEN'S BRANCH.)

Miss Estelle Power O'Brien, Secretary, 336 Sherbrooke St. West,
Montreal.

BRITISH COLUMBIA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

President, Judge F. W. Howay, New Westminster, B.C.; J.
Forsyth, Secretary, Victoria, B.C.

DUNDAS, STORMONT AND GLENGARRY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

President, John Harkness; M. E. Mulhern, Secretary, Cornwall,
Ont.

ELGIN HISTORICAL AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTE.

President, J. H. Coyne, LL.D., St. Thomas, Ont.; Secretary,
J. E. Nelson; Treasurer, F. B. Holtby.

FRANCIS DOUGLAS FARQUHAR CHAPTER, I.O.D.E.

Founder and Regent, Mrs. F. Herbert Johnson Ruel, Bay of
Islands, Newfoundland, and 121 The Boulevard, Westmount,
Que.

HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF ANNAPOLIS ROYAL, NOVA SCOTIA.

Mrs. J. M. Owen, President; F. W. Harris, Vice-President; T.
R. Hanington, Sec.-Treas., Annapolis Royal, N.S.

HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF EDMONTON.

Dr. A. C. Rutherford, President; Rev. W. Everard Edmonds,
Secretary, Edmonton, Alta.

IMPERIAL ORDER DAUGHTERS OF THE EMPIRE.

Mrs. P. E. Doolittle, President National Chapter, Toronto; Miss
A. Stewart Galt, Secretary, 238 Bloor St., Toronto.

KINGSTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Major-General Sir Archibald MacDonell, President; H. C.
Wotherspoon, Secretary, 101 Clarence St., Kingston, Ont.

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

LAST POST FUND.

Sir Arthur Currie, G.C.M.G., President; Arthur H. D. Hair, Hon. Secretary-Treasurer, P.O. Box 1382, Montreal.

LEGISLATIVE LIBRARY OF ONTARIO.

A. F. Wilgress, Legislative Librarian, Toronto.

LEGISLATIVE LIBRARY OF QUEBEC.

The Provincial Librarian, Quebec, Que.

LIBRARY OF PARLIAMENT.

J. de L. Taché, General Librarian; Hon. Martin Burrell, Parliamentary Librarian, Ottawa.

LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC.

W. Clint, Council Secretary, P.O. Box 151, Quebec.

LONDON AND MIDDLESEX HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Fred Landon, President; Treasurer, J. Davis Barnett, 313 Cheap-side, London, Ont.

LONDON PUBLIC LIBRARY.

Fred Landon, Librarian, Queen's Ave., London, Ont.

LUNDY'S LANE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

R. W. Geary, President; J. C. Morden, Sec.-Treas., 242 Lundy's Lane, Niagara Falls South, Ont.

MCGILL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

Gerhard R. Lomer, M.A., Ph.D., University Librarian, Montreal.

MISSISQUOI HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

F. C. Saunders, President, Bedford, P.Q.

NEWFOUNDLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

H. W. LeMessurier, C.M.G., President; H. F. Shortis, Cor. Secretary, St. John's, Newfoundland.

NIAGARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Miss Janet Carnochan, President and Corresponding Secretary, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont.

NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Hon. Mr. Justice Chisholm, President; Harry Piers, Secretary, Halifax, N.S.

PROVINCIAL LIBRARY OF ALBERTA.

J. A. Jeffary, Librarian, Edmonton, Alberta.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1923

PROVINCIAL LIBRARY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

John Forsyth, Provincial Librarian and Archivist, Victoria, B.C.

PROVINCIAL LIBRARY OF MANITOBA.

W. J. Healy, Provincial Librarian, Winnipeg, Man.

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

Miss Lois Saunders, Librarian, Kingston, Ont.

THUNDER BAY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Peter McKellar, President; Miss M. J. L. Black, Sec.-Treas.,
Fort William, Ont.

TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARY.

George H. Locke, M.A., Ph.D., Librarian, College St., Toronto.

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA LIBRARY.

Frank H. Nuttall, Librarian, Kennedy St., Winnipeg.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY.

W. S. Wallace, Librarian, Toronto, Ont.

WENTWORTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Rev. P. L. Spencer, President; John H. Land, Sec.-Treas., 383
Main St., Hamilton, Ont.

WOMEN'S CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF OTTAWA.

Mrs. E. J. Ashton, President, 58 Carling Ave.; Mrs. M. L. Rush,
Cor. Secretary, 224 Driveway, Ottawa.

WOMEN'S CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF TORONTO.

Miss S. Mickle, President, 48 Heath St. East, Toronto; Mrs.
Ethel S. Neilly, Cor. Secretary, 39 Woodlawn Ave. E.,
Toronto.

WOMEN'S WENTWORTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Mrs. Lynch-Staunton, President; Mrs. John Crerar, Vice-Presi-
dent; Mrs. Bertie D. Smith, Secretary, 17 Herkimer St.,
Hamilton, Ont.

(B) LIFE MEMBERS

Bacon, N. H., Hudson's Bay Co., 17 St. John St., Montreal.

Brown, Sir Geo. McL., European General Manager, C.P.R., Trafalgar
Square, London, England.

Curry, Hon. N., 581 Sherbrooke St. W., Montreal.

Dow, Miss Jessie, 20 Ontario Ave., Montreal.

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Gosselin, L. A., 501 St. Catherine Road, Outremont.
Hastings, G. V., 55 Donald St., Winnipeg.
Holt, Sir Herbert, 297 Stanley St., Montreal.
Kindersley, Sir R., Langley House, Abbots Langley, Herts, England.
Laurie, Wm. Pitt, 202 St. Louis Road, Quebec.
Lyman, A. C., 344 St. Paul St., Montreal.
Macfarlan, Miss J. J., 297 Sherbrooke St. W., Montreal.
Mactaggart, Col. D. D., 1075 Mount Royal Ave. W., Montreal.
Mills, Colonel Dudley; Drakes, Beaulieu, Hants, Great Britain.
Morgan, James, Senneville, P.Q., or Montreal.
Musson, Chas. J., 17 Wilton Avenue, Toronto.
Osler, Sir Edmund B., 152 South Drive, Toronto.
Riordon, Carl, 374 Côte des Neiges Road, Montreal.
Ross, Com. J. K. L., 107 St. James St., Montreal.
Simpson, Mrs. J. B., 173 Percy St., Ottawa.
Smith, Pemberton, 260 St. James St., Montreal.
Vaughan, H. H., Dominion Bridge Co., Ltd., Lachine.
Whitney, E. C., Box 553, Ottawa.
Whitney, Mrs. E. C., Box 553, Ottawa.

(C) ANNUAL MEMBERS, 1922-23

Abbott, Dr. Maude S., 26 Durocher St., Montreal.
Acres, Andrew G., Postmaster, Ottawa.
Adams, Prof. Frank D., McGill University, Montreal.
Ami, Dr. H. M., Ottawa.
Armitage, Ven. Archdeacon, St. Paul's Church, Halifax, N.S.
Armstrong, Prof. Henry Fry, 225 Sherbrooke St. W., Montreal.
Atherton, W. H., 51 Common St., Montreal.
Audet, Francis J., Public Archives, Ottawa.
Aylen, John, 274 O'Connor St., Ottawa.
Banks, J. T., Architectural Staff, University of Toronto, Toronto.
Barbeau, C. M., 260 McLaren St., Ottawa.
Barber, Lieut-Col. R. R., c/o Kilmer, Irving & Davis, 10 Adelaide St., Toronto.
Bate, W. T., St. Catharines, Ont.
Bates, Rev. C. J. L., West Japan College, Kobe, Japan.
Baylis, S. M., 204 St. James St., Montreal.
Beddoe, Chas. H., Ottawa.
Bedford-Jones, A. C., 164 Edgehill Road, Westmount.
Bernier, Capt. J. E., 27 Fraser St., Levis, Que.
Biggar, H. P., Dominion Archives, Ottawa.
Biggar, O. M., Roxborough Apts., Ottawa.
Birks, W. M., 254 Stanley St., Montreal.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1923

Bissett, Alex., 314 Broadway, Lachine.
Boothroyd, E. E., Bishop's College, Lennoxville, P.Q.
Boulanger, Jos., 152 Jasper Ave., Edmonton, Alta.
Brierley, J. S., 633 Sydenham Ave., Westmount.
Browning, Arthur, 212 Board of Trade Bldg., Montreal.
Brett, Prof. G. S., University of Toronto, Toronto.
Bryce, Rev. George, c/o Dr. John Marquis, Market St., Brantford, Ont.
Burn, Sir George, 255 Metcalfe St., Ottawa.
Burrell, Hon. Martin, The Roxborough, Ottawa.
Burpee, L. J., 22 Rideau Terrace, Ottawa.
Butchart, R. P., Tod Inlet, Vancouver Island, B.C.
Cambie, Charles, Canadian Bank of Commerce, 2 Lombard St., London, E.C.3., England.
Cann, H. V., 49 Wall Street, New York City.
Cantlie, Lt-Col. G. S., 502 Sherbrooke St. W., Montreal.
Carruthers, William Alexander, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.
Carstairs, Capt. J. E., Toronto.
Chapais, Hon. Thomas, Casier Postal 66, Quebec.
Chipman, Willis, 103 Spadina Road, Toronto.
Christie, J. G. M., Toronto.
Chrysler, F. H., K.C., Central Chambers, Ottawa.
Clarke, John M., State Museum, Albany, New York.
Cockshutt, W. F., Brantford, Ontario.
Cody, Ven. Arch. H. J., Toronto.
Cody, H. M., 603 Jarvis St., Toronto.
Colby, C. W., 560 Pine Ave. W., Montreal.
Coleman, H. T. J., University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C.
Compton, Chas. E., 305 Metcalfe St., Ottawa.
Connolly, W. J., Reeve, Cobden, Ont.
Cook, Fred, Government Printing Bureau, Ottawa.
Coutts, B., 517 7th Ave. W., Calgary, Alberta.
Coyne, James H., St. Thomas, Ont.
Craig, Hon. Mr. Justice James, 3 Romanwood Ave., Toronto.
Crawford, Lt.-Col. J. M., 261 Bishop St., Montreal.
Crofts, Frederick C., Box 573, Niagara Falls, New York.
Cunningham, Lt.-Col. J. F., 400 Laurier Ave. E., Ottawa.
Davidson, James, 292 Stanley St., Montreal.
De la Fosse, Frederick M., Public Library, Peterborough, Ont.
Dennis, Col. John S., Canadian Pacific Railway, Montreal.
Denton, C. H., Tillsonburg, Ontario.
Després, The Rev. A. Couillard, Frelighsburg, Missisquoi, P.Q.
Dick, Mrs. John, Cobourg, Ontario.
Donald, Dr. J. T., 318 Lagauchetière St. W., Montreal.

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

- Doughty, Dr. A. G., Dominion Archives, Ottawa.
Drummond, Lady, 216 Drummond St., Montreal.
Drysedale, Wm., 756 Sherbrooke St. W., Montreal.
Durnford, Mrs. A. D., 9 Simpson St., Montreal.
Durnford, Miss M. G., 660 Sherbrooke St. W., Montreal.
Edgar, Miss M. C., 507 Guy St., Montreal.
Edwards, Major J. Plimsoll, Box 1181, Halifax, N.S.
Ewart, Kenneth D., "Grain Growers' Guide," Winnipeg.
Farley, Mrs. Elizabeth, 115 Bridge St., Belleville, Ontario.
Farlinger, Miss Isabella L., "Belmont," P.O., Box 20, Morrisburg,
Ont.
Fauteux, Aegidius, Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice, rue Saint-Denis,
Montreal.
Ferguson, P. H., 2240 Angus St., Regina, Sask.
Fielding, Right Hon. W. S., 286 Charlotte St., Ottawa.
Finnie, D. M., 329 Chapel St., Ottawa.
Fisk, A. K., 703 Eastern Townships Bldg., Montreal, P.Q.
Flavelle, Sir Jos. W., Bart, Toronto.
Foran, J. K., House of Commons, Ottawa.
Foran, Mrs. T. P., 147 Wilbrod St., Ottawa.
Fortescue, Lawrence, 253 Wilbrod St., Ottawa.
Fosbery, C. S., Lower Canada College, Montreal.
Fraas, J. E., 242 Clemow Avenue, Ottawa.
Frind, Herbert O., Quadra Club, Vancouver, B.C.
Fotheringham, Maj.-Gen. J. T., 20 Wellesley St., Toronto.
Galbraith, R. L. T., Fort Steele, B.C.
Galt, G. F., Winnipeg, Man.
Garrow, N. A., 948 Old Esquimalt Rd., Victoria, B.C.
Gibbon, J. M., General Publicity Agent, C.P.R., Windsor St.,
Montreal.
Gilkison, Miss I. A. G., 37 Alfred St., Brantford, Ontario.
Gordon, Major The Rev. C. W. (Ralph Connor), Winnipeg, Man.
Gosnell, R. E., 43 Victoria Chambers, Ottawa.
Grant, His Honour MacCallum, Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia,
Halifax, N.S.
Grant, W. L., Upper Canada College, Toronto, Ontario.
Gouin, Hon. Sir Lomer, Department of Justice, Ottawa.
Graham, Hon. Geo. P., Ottawa.
Grosvenor, Gilbert Hovey, National Geographic Society, Washing-
ton, D.C.
Gurd, Charles, 76 Bleury St., Montreal.
Hadrill, Geo., for Board of Trade, Board of Trade Bldg., Montreal.
Hall, Grant, Vice-President, C.P.R., Montreal.
Hallam, Mrs., Saskatoon, Sask.
Hamilton, John, Union Bank Bldg., Quebec.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1923

Ham, Geo. H., 4123 Western Avenue, Westmount, P.Q.
Harvey, Daniel C., 124 Chestnut St., Winnipeg, Man.
Harvey, E. L., The University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, N.B.
Hastings, Geo. V., 55 Donald St., Winnipeg.
Harris, Hon. Robert E., Chief Justice, 15 South Part St., Halifax, N.S.
Harkin, J. B., Commissioner of Dominion Lands, Department of the Interior, Ottawa.
Harwood, C. A. de Lotbinière, Quebec Bank Bldg., Montreal.
Hathaway, E. J., 401 King St. W., Toronto.
Hemsley, Richard, 255 St. James St., Montreal.
Hemming, H. K. S., 274 Beaver Hall Hill, Montreal.
Hendrie, Lady, Hamilton, Ont.
Hingston, Lady, 460 Sherbrooke St. W., Montreal.
Hill, H. P., K.C., 110 Wellington St., Ottawa.
Hill-Tout, Charles, Abbotsford, B.C.
Hopkins, J. Castell, 2 College St., Toronto.
Hope, James, 174 Dufferin Road, Ottawa.
Horn, David, 131 West Gate, Armstrong Point, Winnipeg, Man.
Howay, Hon. Judge, Law Courts, New Westminster.
Howell, Arch. R., 572 Victoria Ave., Westmount, P.Q.
Hudson, T. S., 596 Grosvenor Avenue, Westmount, P.Q.
Huard, le Chanoine V. A., 2 Richelieu St., Quebec, Que.
Innis, Harold A., 696 Markham St., Toronto.
James, Major R. H., 100 University Ave., Toronto.
Jenkins, John, 666 Belmont Avenue, Westmount, P.Q.
Johnston, Dr. R. L., Public Reference Library, Winnipeg.
Johnston, Robert, 197 Bronson Ave., Ottawa.
Kay, W. F., M.P., Phillipsburg, P.Q.
Keating, Lt.-Col. J. B., British Vice-Consul, Portland, Maine, U.S.
Keefer, Frank H., K.C., M.L.A., Port Arthur, Ont.
Kennedy, Miss M. L., 398 Charles St., Winnipeg.
Kenney, J. F., Dominion Archives, Ottawa.
Kerr, David S., 232 St. James St., Montreal.
Kidd, Geo. E., Fraser Bldg., 53 Queen St., Ottawa.
King, Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie, Ottawa.
King, Prof. L. Vessot, McGill University, Montreal.
Kingan, Gordon B., 484 Lansdowne Avenue, Westmount, P.Q.
Killan, Herbert, Provincial Library, Victoria, B.C.
Kirchhoffer, Mrs. Nesbitt, Ottawa.
Klotz, Dr. Otto, 437 Albert St., Ottawa.
LaBruère, Montarville Boucher de, Est 455, Dorchester, Montreal.
Lafrenière, J. B. T., Rue du Roi, Sorel, Que.
Lambert, H. M., 160 St. James St., Montreal.
Lambly, Mrs. Osborn, 216 George St., Belleville, Ont.

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

- Laidlaw, John B., 7 Clarendon Crescent, Toronto.
Lancetot, Gustave, Dominion Archives, Ottawa.
Landon, Fred, 76 Bruce St., London, Ont.
Lart, C. E., Harlyk Bay, Padstors, Cornwall, England.
Latchford, Hon. F. R., Osgoode Hall, Toronto.
Laut, Agnes C., Hotel Latham, 284 5th Ave., New York, U.S.A.
Leacock, Prof. Stephen, McGill University, Montreal.
Leach, W. H., 570 Victoria Avenue, Westmount, P.Q.
Le Messurier, H. W., St. John's, Newfoundland.
LeSage, Dr. Albert, 46 Laval Ave., Montreal.
Lett, R. C. W., Tourist Colonization Agent, C.N.R., Stony Road,
Edmonton, Alta.
Lighthall, G. R., Montreal Trust Bldg., Montreal.
Lighthall, W. D., K.C., 11 Place d'Armes, Montreal.
Livingstone, Miss J. C., 303 May St. South, Fort William, Ont.
Macaulay, T. B., Sun Life Assurance Co., Montreal.
Mackay, Dr. A. H., 61 Queen St., Dartmouth, N.S.
Mackintosh, W. A., Queen's University, Kingston, Ont.
Macleod, J. E. A., 323 4th Ave. W., Calgary, Alta.
MacMechan, Prof. Archibald, Dalhousie University, Halifax.
Macpherson, Wm. Molson, 73 St. Ursule St., Quebec.
MacTier, A. D., 474 Sherbrooke St. W., Montreal.
McCord, Miss Annie, 356 Elm Ave., Westmount, P.Q.
McDonald, D. H., Fort Qu'Appelle, Sask.
McDougall, Mrs. J. Lorn, 292 Daly Ave., Ottawa.
McElroy, W., Richmond, Ontario.
McGillivray, Miss F. H., 292 Frank St., Ottawa.
McInnis, Hector, K.C., 35 Bedford St., S. Halifax, N.S.
McKellar, Peter, 403 John St., Fort William, Ont.
McLean, A. A., Comptroller of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police,
Ottawa.
McNeill, John T., Knox College, Toronto.
Magor, J. H., 47 Rosemount Ave., Westmount, P.Q.
Magrath, C. A., 398 Wilbrod St., Ottawa.
Marsh, Miss Edith I., Thornbury, Ont.
Marshall, Lt.-Col. Noel, 623 Sherbourne St., Toronto.
Massey, Vincent, The Massey-Harris Co., Toronto.
Matheson, Most Rev. Arch., Bishop's Courts, Winnipeg.
Meighen, Right Hon. A., 21 Cooper St., Ottawa.
Meredith, Charles, P. O. Box 1556, Montreal.
Merritt, Miss C. Welland, Oak Hill, 12 Yates St., St. Catharines, Ont.
Mignault, Hon. P.B., Roxborough Apartments, Ottawa.
Miller, J. B., 98 Wellesley St., Toronto.
Mills, Nathaniel, Postmaster, House of Commons, Ottawa.
Milner, W. C., Bellevue Bldg., Spring Garden Road, Halifax, N.S.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1923

- Mitchell, James, Box 673, Goderich, Ont.
Molson, J. Dinham, c/o Walter Molson, Bank of Nova Scotia Building, Montreal.
Molson, Major J. Elsdale, M.P., Goring Hall, Worthing, Sussex, England. (Address c/o Walter Molson & Co., 263 St. James St., Montreal.)
Morin, Victor, N. P., 97 St. James St., Montreal.
Morison, Prof. J. L., Armstrong College, Newcastle-on-Tyne, England.
Morrison, Major-General Sir Edward, Dept. of National Defence, Ottawa.
Morton, Arthur S., University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Sask.
Mott, H.C., 428 Grande Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Mowatt, Hon. H. M., 10 Wellesley St., Toronto.
Morse, Dr. Charles, Exchequer Court, Ottawa.
Murphy, Miss Ethel, 128 Park St., Moncton, N.B.
Murray, W. H., 36 Churchill Hill Ave., Westmount, P.Q.
Naftel, Frederick J., Bank of Montreal, Stock Dept., Montreal.
Nelson, H. C., Box 181, Chapleau, Ont.
New, Chester W., McMaster University, Toronto.
Nicholson, E. M., 202 Board of Trade Bldg., Montreal.
Nursey, Walter R., Dept. of Education, Toronto.
O'Brien, Hon. M. J., 511 Union Bank Bldg., Ottawa.
Ogilvie, Mrs. Wm., Mines Branch Library, Sussex St., Ottawa.
Oliver, Mrs. Frank, Edmonton, Alta.
O'Meara, Miss Hortense, Russell House, Ottawa.
Orchard, Rev. F. Graham, Trinity College School, Port Hope, Ont.
Ostiguy, Emile, 361 Sherbrooke St. E., Montreal.
Outerbridge, Sir Joseph, St. John's, Newfoundland.
Papineau-Couture, R., 112 St. Peter St., Montreal.
Paterson, B. E., Union Assurance Society, Bank of Toronto Bldg., Montreal.
Paton, Hugh, 38 Victoria Square, Montreal.
Pangman, J. J. M., 22 Ontario Ave., Montreal.
Pemberton, F. B., Pemberton & Sons, Inc. Agents, Victoria, B.C.
Perley, Sir Geo. H., Ottawa.
Pease, E. L., 718 Sherbrooke St. W., Montreal.
Pearson, John A., Architect, Toronto.
Phillips, Miss S. Ashton, 61 Westmount Blvd., Westmount, P.Q.
Ponton, Lt.-Col. W. N., Bridge St., Belleville, Ontario.
Poole, G. J., Lacombe, Alta.
Powell, H. A., St. John, N.B.
Putman, H. L., 46 Trafalgar Ave., Montreal.
Reford, R. W., 20 Hospital St., Montreal.
Reid, R. G., Yorkshire Bldg., Vancouver, B.C.
Richardson, A. W., M.D., 247 Johnston St., Kingston, Ont.

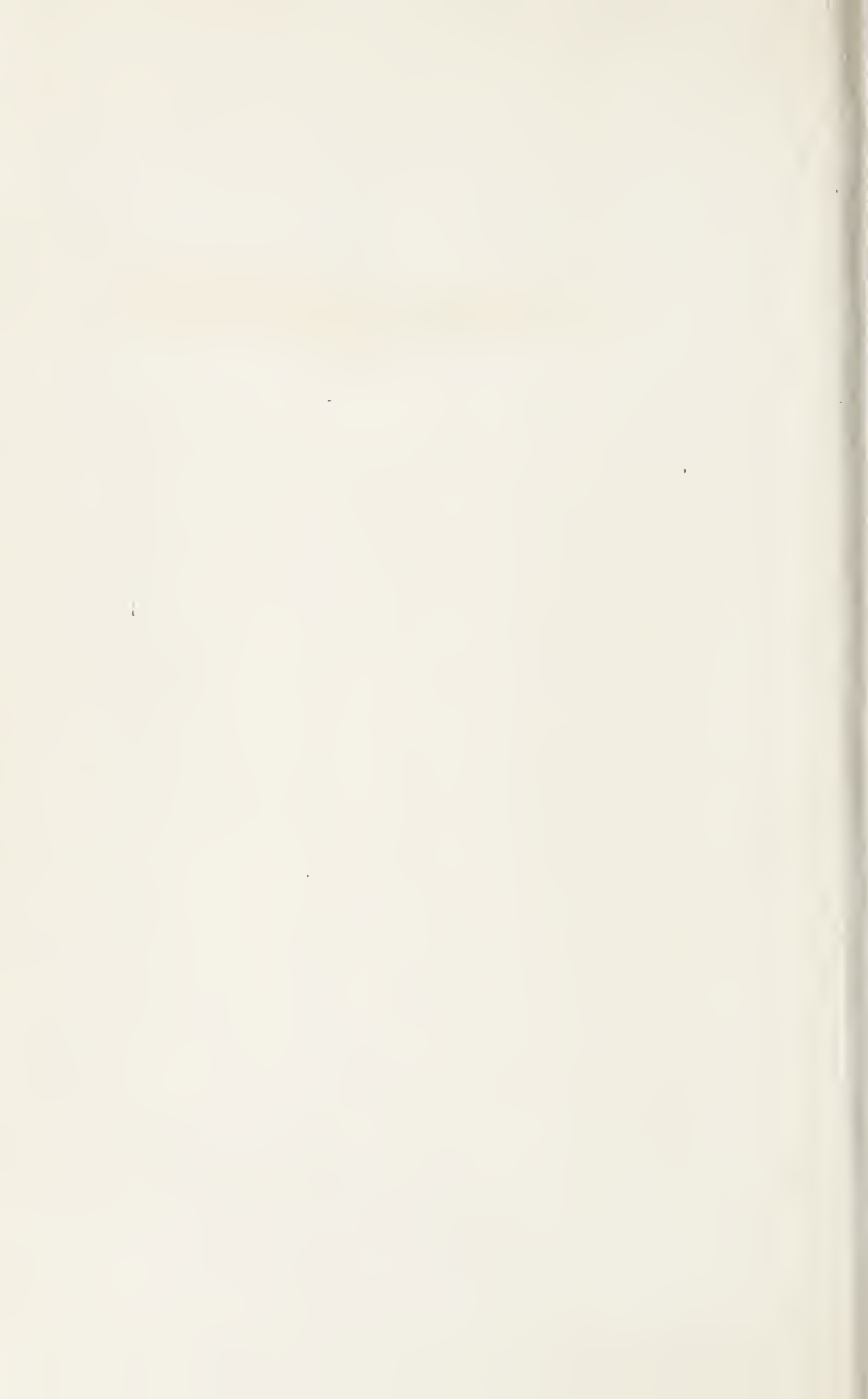
THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

- Richmond, F. J., P. O. Box 524, Gaspé, Que.
Riddell, Hon. W., Osgoode Hall, Toronto.
Riddell, A. F., 80 St. François Xavier St., Montreal.
Rife, Prof. C. W., 106 York Square, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.
Robertson, Miss Margaret A., 96 Wurtemberg St., Ottawa.
Robertson, Wm. Fleet, Provincial Mineralogist, Victoria, B.C.
Robinson, W. Beverley, 46 Côte des Neiges Road, Westmount, P.Q.
Rogers, W. K., Charlottetown, P.E.I.
Roper, Right Rev. J. C., 140 Bay St., Ottawa.
Ross, Henry T., Sec. Canadian Bankers' Association, 153 James St.,
Montreal.
Ross, Lt.-Col. Lorne, Board of Trade Bldg., Vancouver, B.C.
Ross, John T., Quebec.
Roy, Pierre Georges, 44 Wolfe St., Lévis, P.Q.
Ross, Mrs. F. H. T., 121 The Boulevard, Westmount, P.Q.
Rowley, C. W., 391 Main St., Winnipeg.
Rutherford, Hon. A. C., Edmonton.
Ruttan, Prof. R. F., McGill University, Montreal.
Rutter, Edgar, 240 West 134th St., New York.
Scott, Duncan C., Department of Indian Affairs, Ottawa.
Scott, Lt.-Col. Canon F. G., Quebec.
Seaman, H. S., 520 Rosedale Ave., Winnipeg.
Sherwood, Sir Percy, 451 Daly Ave., Ottawa.
Shepherd, Dr. F. J., 152 Mansfield St., Montreal.
Simpson, J. Cradock, 120 St. James St., Montreal.
Sifton, Lady, Assiniboine Lodge, Mallorytown, Ont.
Sifton, Sir Clifford, 18 Wellington St. East, Toronto.
Skelton, Prof. O. D., Kingston, Ont.
Smith, Hon. E. D., Winona, Ont.
Smith, Harlan I., Victoria Museum, Ottawa.
Smith, Mrs. Ralph, M.P.P., 2456 Point Grey Road, Vancouver, B.C.
Smith, C. Howard, 138 McGill St., Montreal.
Smith, Clarence F., Windsor Hotel, Montreal.
Smith, F. Percy, Canada Steamships Lines, Ltd., Montreal.
Smith, Wm., Public Archives, Ottawa.
Somerville, Mrs. J. M., Kenniston Apartments, Ottawa.
Somerville, C. R., 336 Piccadilly St., London, Ont.
Stairs, Major Henry B., Royal Trust Co., Halifax.
Staton, Miss Frances, Reference Library, College St., Toronto.
Stuart, Sir Campbell, "The Times," Printing House Square, London,
E.C.4, England.
Swinburne, Lt.-Col. J. E., 325 St. Catherine St., Fort William, Ont.
Sword, Colin E., 355 Mountain St., Montreal.
Southam, F. A., 63 St. Alexander St., Montreal.
Sutherland, J. C., Department of Public Instruction, Quebec.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1923

Taché, J. de L., Library of Parliament, or 206 Stewart St., Ottawa.
Tessier, Cyrille, 12 D'Aiguillon St., Quebec.
Thompson, Mrs. E. J., Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont.
Thompson, Lt.-Col. A. T., 122 Wellington St., Ottawa.
Thompson, W. P., University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Sask.
Thomson, Prof. R. B., University of Toronto, Toronto.
Thorburn, Mrs. John, 211 Daly Ave., Ottawa.
Todd, Lt.-Col. A. H., Library of Parliament, Ottawa.
Trotter, Reginald G., Stanford University, California.
Tyrrell, J. B., 534 Confederation Life Chambers, Toronto.
Underhill, Frank H., University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Sask.
Villeneuve, E. W., 317 Esplanade Avenue, Montreal.
Walker, Sir Edmund, 99 St. George St., Toronto.
Walker, J. R., 4187 Avenue Road, Westmount.
Warner, Clarence M., 50 Congress St., Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
Waugh, W. T., McGill University, Montreal, P.Q.
Webster, Dr. J. C., Shediac, N.B.
Weir, Hon. Mr. Justice, 4219 Western Avenue, Westmount, P.Q.
Whitton, Miss Charlotte, 404 Daly Ave., Ottawa.
Wiley, Prof. A., McGill University, Montreal, P.Q.
Wilson, George E., Dalhousie University, Halifax, N.S.
Whitcher, A. H., 315 Frank St., Ottawa.
Williams-Taylor, Sir Frederick, Bank of Montreal, Montreal.
Williams, David, Collingwood, Ont.
Williams, Prof. Basil, McGill University, Montreal.
Wood, Lt.-Col. Wm., 59 Grande Allée, Quebec.
Wrong, Prof. G. M., 467 Jarvis St., Toronto.
Wurtele, Lt.-Col. E. F., Box 67, Station B, St. Catherine St. W.,
Montreal.
Yeigh, Frank, 588 Huron St., Toronto.
Holmden, H. R., 41 Fairmont Ave., Ottawa.

(35) 5 277-4-O.F.



TRENT UNIVERSITY



0 1164 0287599 5

Canadian

42000

